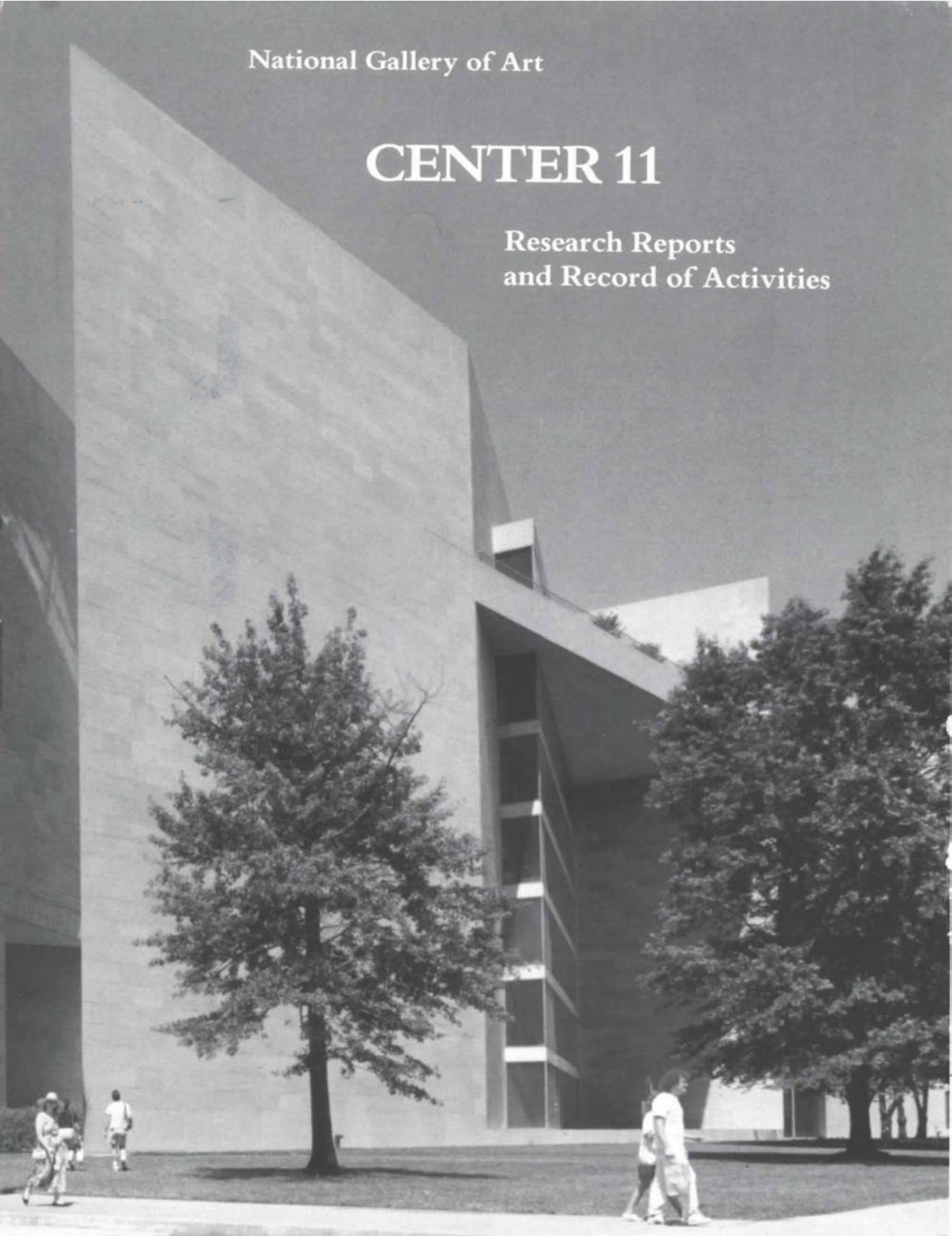


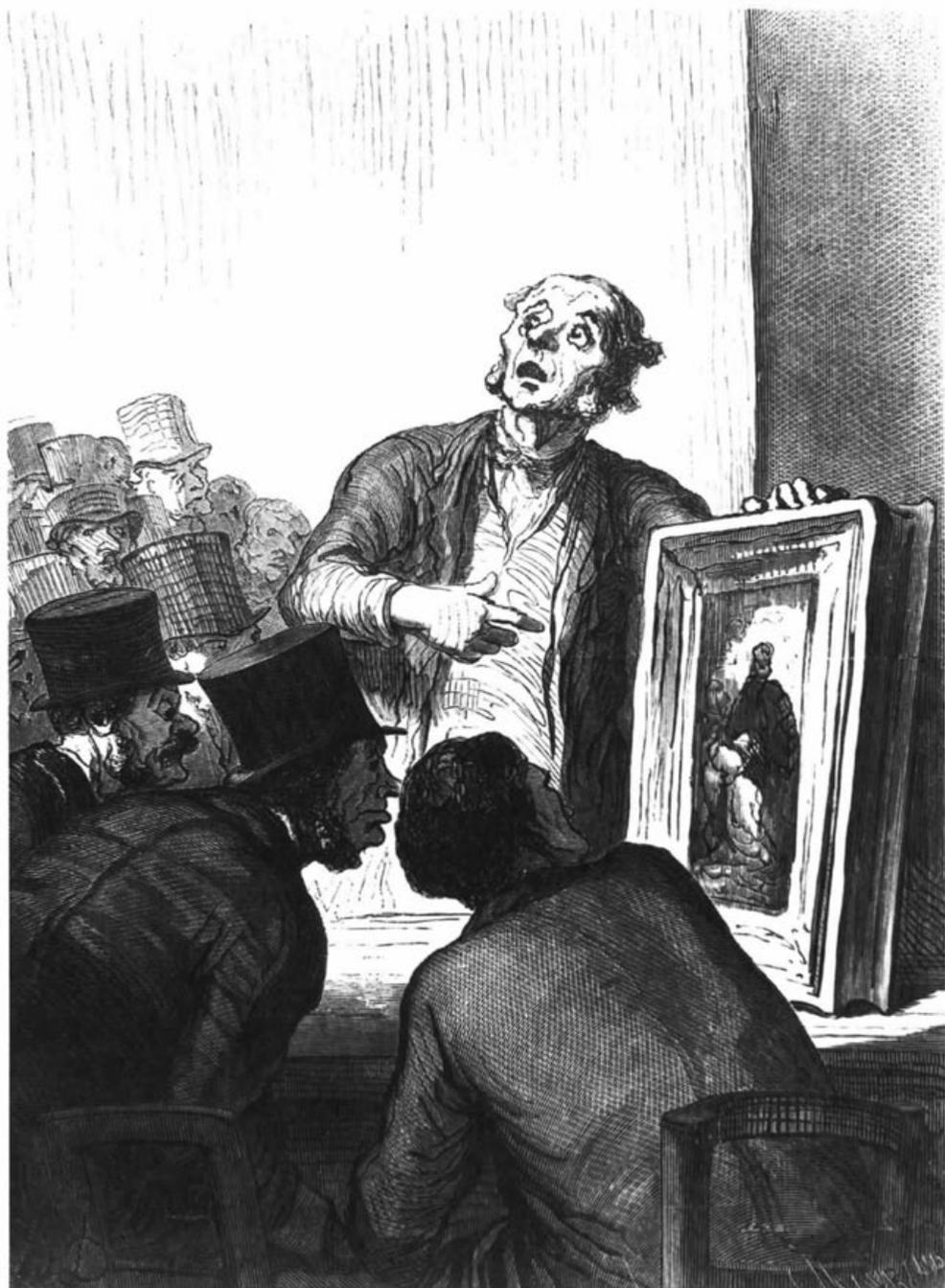
National Gallery of Art

# CENTER 11

Research Reports  
and Record of Activities



# CENTER 11



National Gallery of Art  
CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDY IN THE VISUAL ARTS

# **CENTER 11**

**Research Reports and Record of Activities**  
**June 1990–May 1991**

Washington 1991

National Gallery of Art  
CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDY IN THE VISUAL ARTS

Washington, D.C. 20565  
Telephone: (202) 842-6480

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*Frontispiece*

Honoré Daumier, *L'hôtel des commissaires-priseurs*, engraved by C. Maurand, first published 1863. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Arthur E. Vershbow

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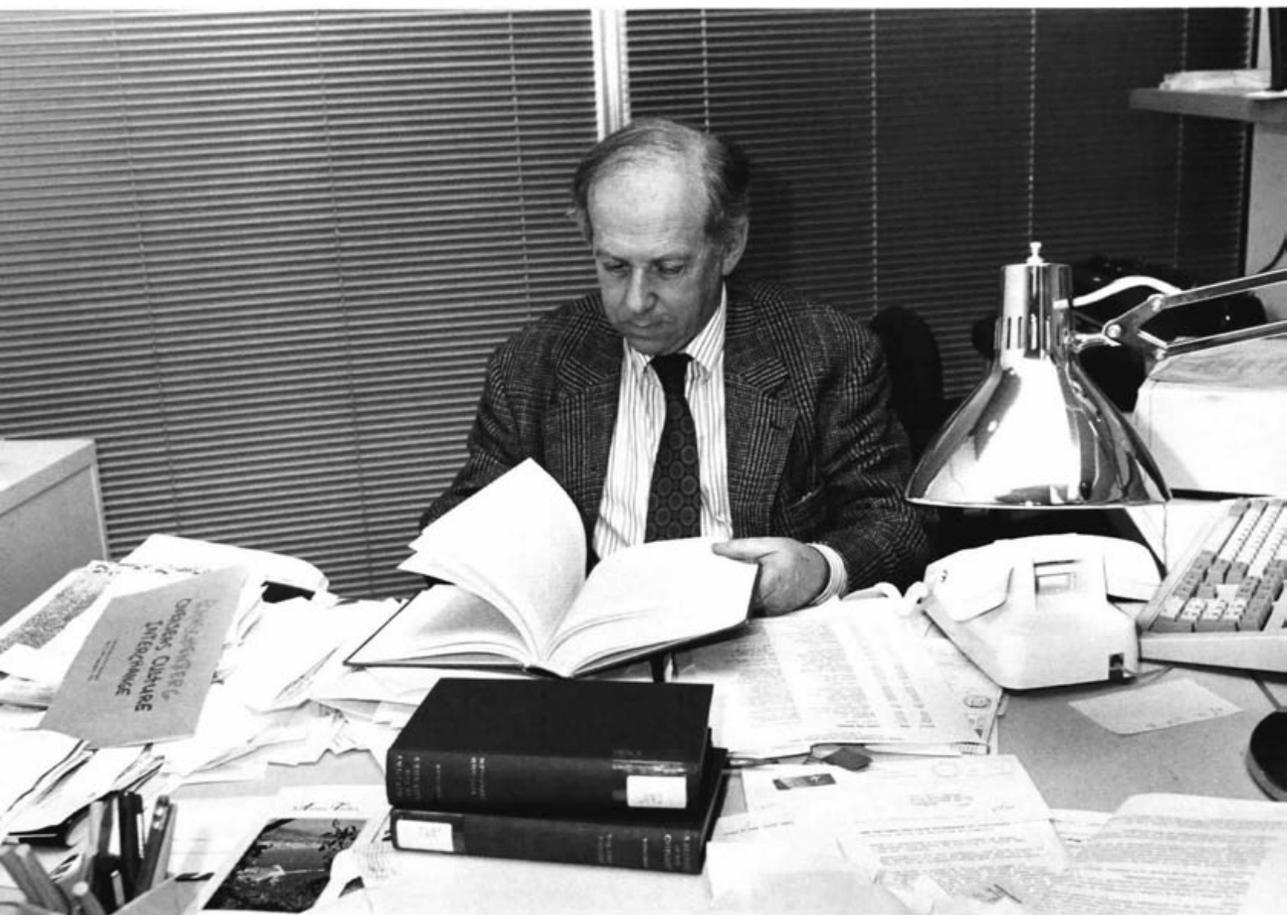
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## DESCRIPTION OF PROGRAMS



The Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts was founded in 1979, as part of the National Gallery of Art, to promote study of the history, theory, and criticism of art, architecture, and urbanism through the formation of a community of scholars. This community consists of the Samuel H. Kress Professor, Andrew W. Mellon Lecturer in the Fine Arts, Senior Fellows, Visiting Senior Fellows, Soros Visiting Senior Research Fellows, the Ailsa Mellon Bruce National Gallery of Art Sabbatical Curatorial Fellow, Associates, and Postdoctoral and Predoctoral Fellows. The activities of the Center for Advanced Study, which include the fellowship program, meetings, research, and publications, are privately funded.

## FIELDS OF INQUIRY

The Center fosters study of the production, use, and cultural meaning of art and artifacts from prehistoric times to the present. Studies of all the visual arts from a variety of approaches by historians, critics, and theorists of art, as well as by scholars in related disciplines of the humanities and social sciences, are encouraged. The Center also supports studies of the theory, historiography, and criticism of the visual arts, including critical studies leading to the formation of aesthetic theories.

## FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

### *Samuel H. Kress Professorship*

The National Gallery of Art and the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts select annually a distinguished art historian as Samuel H. Kress Professor, a position created by the National Gallery in 1965. Occasionally two scholars are chosen to serve consecutive terms during the same academic year. Traditionally, the Kress Professor counsels Predoctoral Fellows in their dissertation research. The Kress Professor is the senior member of the Center.

### *Senior Fellowships*

Senior Fellowships are awarded without regard to the age or nationality of applicants. Senior Fellowships are limited to those who have held the Ph.D. for five years or more or who possess a record of professional accomplishment at the time of application. Awards usually are made for the academic year. Awards for one academic term are also possible. Senior Fellows must reside

in the Washington area during the fellowship period, which normally runs from early fall to late spring, and are expected to participate in the activities of the Center. The Center is able to consider requests for alternative periods of residence in response to individual needs. Senior Fellows may not hold other appointments while in residence at the Center.

Senior Fellowship grants are based on individual need. The award will be limited generally to one-half the applicant's annual salary with the expectation that applicants will bring sabbatical stipends or research grants from their home institutions. In addition to a stipend, each Senior Fellow receives round-trip travel funds; a supplemental allowance for local expenses; a research allowance for photographs, slides, and microfilms; and subsidized luncheon privileges. A study is provided for each Senior Fellow. Limited travel funds are available for attendance at a professional meeting.

The application deadline for the Senior Fellowship program is 1 October. Each candidate must submit ten copies of all materials, including an application form with a project proposal, three publications, biographical data, and a financial statement. The application must be supported by three letters of recommendation.





### *Visiting Senior Fellowships*

The Center awards Visiting Senior Fellowships for a residence period of a maximum of sixty days during the year, in two periods: (A) September through February, and (B) March through August. Qualifications and conditions of appointment are the same as those for Senior Fellowships. Each Visiting Senior Fellow receives a stipend that includes travel, research, and housing expenses. Each Fellow is provided with a study and other privileges while in residence at the Center. The application deadlines are 21 March for period A and 21 September for period B. Candidates for Visiting Senior Fellowships should submit ten copies of all materials, though only two letters of recommendation in support of the application are needed. Submission of publications is not required.

### *Soros Visiting Senior Research Fellowships*

Soros Visiting Senior Research Fellowships are awarded to scholars from Albania, Bulgaria, the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and Yugoslavia. The Soros Fellowships include a period of two months at the Center for research in Washington libraries and collections, followed by an additional two months

of travel to visit collections, libraries, and other institutions in the United States. Each Soros Fellow receives a stipend that includes travel, research, and housing expenses. Each Fellow is provided with a study and other privileges while in residence at the Center. The application deadlines and award periods are the same as those of the Visiting Senior Fellowships described above.

#### *Alisa Mellon Bruce National Gallery of Art Sabbatical Curatorial Fellowship*

One Senior Fellowship is reserved for a qualified art historian who has served at least three years in a department of the National Gallery, and who holds the Ph.D. or a record of professional achievement at the time of application. Curatorial Fellows may obtain leave for six months or more away from the Gallery to pursue independent research unrelated to Gallery projects.

The application deadline is 1 October. Candidates submit a proposal and an application form similar to that for a Senior Fellowship, but with only two publications required.

#### *Associate Status*

The Center may appoint Associates who have obtained awards from other granting institutions. These appointments are without stipend and can be made for periods ranging from one month to an academic year. Qualifications and conditions are the same as those for Visiting Senior Fellowships and Senior Fellowships. The application deadline for Associate appointments for a full year or a single academic term is 1 October, and the procedures are the same as those for Senior Fellowships. Applications will also be considered on 21 March for appointments of less than one academic term during the period September–February and on 21 September for appointments of less than one academic term during the period March–August. For short-term applications, procedures are the same as those for Visiting Senior Fellowships.

#### *Postdoctoral Fellowships*

One Samuel H. Kress Postdoctoral Curatorial Fellowship is available each year to a fellow holding the Samuel H. Kress or Mary Davis Predoctoral Fellowship. Kress or Davis Fellows may apply for a postdoctoral curatorial

fellowship if the dissertation has been approved by 1 April of the second fellowship year. A letter to this effect from the primary advisor must be received by this date. The candidate must have graduated or received a certificate of degree by 1 September. During this twelve-month appointment the fellow is associated with an appropriate Gallery department and pursues curatorial work while preparing the dissertation for publication.

### *Predoctoral Fellowships*

The Center awards a number of one-, two-, and three-year fellowships to Ph.D. candidates in any field of art history who have completed their university residence requirements, course work, two language examinations, and general or preliminary examinations. Certain fellowships are designated for research in specific fields. Others require a twelve-month period of residency at the Center that may include participation in a curatorial research project at the National Gallery. Applicants must be either United States citizens or enrolled in a university in the United States.

Application for the National Gallery Predoctoral Fellowships at the Center may be made only through graduate departments of art history and other appropriate departments, under the sponsorship of departmental chairs. The application deadline is 15 November. Fellowship grants begin on 1 September each year and are not renewable. All contact should be between the departmental chair and the Center for Advanced Study. Nomination forms will be sent to departmental chairs.

### *Other Information about Tenure and Application*

Members may not apply for other Center fellowships while an application is pending or once a fellowship has been awarded. The award itself is not renewable and may not be postponed. Visiting Senior Fellows may receive an award in three consecutive years but thereafter must wait three years before reapplying to the Center. Holders of Senior Fellowships and Associate appointments for two terms may reapply after an interval of five years. Holders of one-term appointments may reapply after three years. National Gallery Curatorial Fellows may reapply after five years. The appropriate application forms for Senior Fellowships, Visiting Senior Fellowships, Soros Visiting Senior Research Fellowships, National Gallery Curatorial Fellowships, and Associate appointments may be obtained by writing to the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. 20565. Further information about these fellowships may be obtained from the Assistant to the Fellowship Program: (202) 842-6480.

## FACILITIES

The offices, seminar room, and individual studies of the Center are located in the East Building of the National Gallery of Art. These facilities are always available, as is the library of over 175,000 volumes. The Gallery's collections, photographic archives, and other services are available during regular business hours. Members of the Center also have access to other libraries in the Washington area, including the Library of Congress, the Folger Shakespeare Library, Dumbarton Oaks, and the libraries and collections of the various museums of the Smithsonian Institution. Luncheon is available for fellows and staff in the National Gallery refectory on weekdays.

## PROGRAM OF MEETINGS

The Center sponsors programs of regular and special meetings throughout the academic year. Meetings held at regular intervals include colloquia presented by the senior members of the Center and shoptalks given by Predoctoral Fellows. Art historians and other scholars at universities, museums, and research institutes in the Washington area are invited to participate in these gatherings. Periodic meetings involving participants from the local, national, and international community of scholars include seminars, symposia, conferences, lectures, *incontri*, and the curatorial colloquy. Such gatherings, along with the Center's weekly luncheon and tea, annual reception in honor of the new members, and annual introductory meeting with the curatorial departments of the National Gallery, encourage formal and casual exchange among the members and help stimulate critical discourse among scholars in advanced research in the history of art and related disciplines.

A list of the meetings held at the Center in 1990–1991 may be found on pages 24–32.

## PUBLICATION PROGRAM

Reports by members of the Center are published annually (see pages 35–111 for reports written by members of the Center in 1990–1991). The Center also publishes an annual listing of awards for research in the history of art sponsored by granting institutions in the United States and abroad. This year saw the publication of *Sponsored Research in the History of Art 10*, listing awards for 1990–1991.



Papers presented at symposia sponsored by the Center are often gathered and published in the symposium series of the National Gallery's *Studies in the History of Art*. Fifteen symposium volumes have appeared to date: *Macedonia and Greece in Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Times* (Volume 10); *El Greco: Italy and Spain* (Volume 13); *Claude Lorrain, 1600–1682: A Symposium* (Volume 14); *Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Volume 16); *Raphael before Rome* (Volume 17); *James McNeill Whistler: A Reexamination* (Volume 19); *Retaining the Original: Multiple Originals, Copies, and Reproductions* (Volume 20); *Italian Medals* (Volume 21); *Italian Plaquettes* (Volume 22); *The Fashioning and Functioning of the British Country House* (Volume 25); *Winslow Homer* (Volume 26); *Cultural Differentiation and Cultural Identity in the Visual Arts* (Volume 27); *The Mall in Washington, 1791–1991* (Volume 30); *The Architectural Historian in America* (Volume 35); and *American Art around 1900* (Volume 37). Papers from three other symposia are being prepared for publication in the series: *Nationalism in the Visual Arts* (Volume 29); *Urban Form and Meaning in South Asia: The Shaping of Cities from Prehistoric to Precolonial Times* (Volume 31); and *New Perspectives in Early Greek Art* (Volume 32). Additionally, the Center has gathered the papers of several symposia for publication in the symposium series: *Michelangelo Drawings*; *Art and Power in Seventeenth-Century Sweden*; *The Pastoral Landscape*; *The Artist's Workshop*; *Eius Virtutis Studiosi: Classical and Post-Classical Studies in Memory of Frank Edward Brown (1908–1988)*; and *Intellectual Life at the Court of Frederick II Hohenstaufen*. The Center is in the process of gathering papers from three more symposia: *Malevich*, *Titian 500*, and *Van Dyck 350*.

## RESEARCH PROGRAM

In 1982–1983 the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts initiated a program of long-term research projects. One such project, under the direction of the dean of the Center and with the support of the J. Paul Getty Trust and consulting scholars, involves the compilation of a photographic archive of architectural drawings, as well as the development of an automated cataloguing system including a program for interrelated indexing. It is expected that the archive will include photographs of architectural drawings up to the year 1800 held in public collections of North America and Europe. Another research project aims to develop a standard method of gathering and processing information on illustrated Islamic manuscripts and to organize the documentation in a centralized and easily accessible compilation. The project will deal with manuscripts written in Persian and produced in Iran, central Asia, and Afghanistan from the fourteenth through the fifteenth centuries. The goals of this project, which is under the direction of the associate dean, are to permit the study of broad technical and historical issues and to encourage the exploration of various methodologies that might be employed to evaluate the entire Islamic manuscript tradition. A third research project, under the direction of the assistant dean, is the creation of an illustrated historical dictionary of landscape and garden design terminology. Images and texts from the seventeenth to nineteenth century are employed, with the intention of tracking words as they were adapted and transformed in the evolution of an American landscape vocabulary.

## BOARD OF ADVISORS AND SELECTION COMMITTEE

A Board of Advisors, comprised of eight art historians appointed with rotating terms, meets annually to consider the policies and programs of the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts. The board also serves as a selection committee to review all fellowship applications to the Center. In addition, a member of the curatorial staff of the National Gallery is present during the interview of applicants for Predoctoral Fellowships. The committee forwards recommendations for appointment to the Board of Trustees of the National Gallery of Art.

REPORT ON THE ACADEMIC YEAR  
June 1990–May 1991

## BOARD OF ADVISORS

Svetlana Alpers, University of California, Berkeley  
Everett Fahy, Metropolitan Museum of Art  
William Loerke, Dumbarton Oaks  
Donald Preziosi, University of California, Los Angeles  
Jules Prown, Yale University  
David Rosand, Columbia University  
John Rosenfield, Harvard University  
Juergen Schulz, Brown University  
Linda Seidel, University of Chicago  
Kirk Varnedoe, Museum of Modern Art

## STAFF

Henry A. Millon, *Dean*  
Marianna S. Simpson, *Associate Dean*  
Therese O'Malley, *Assistant Dean*

Karin Alexis, *Research Assistant to the Kress Professor*  
Christine Challingsworth, *Research Assistant to the Dean*  
Sabine Eiche, *Senior Research Associate*  
Massumeh Farhad, *Research Assistant to the Associate Dean*  
Sarah Hadley, *Program Assistant*  
Elizabeth Kryder-Reid, *Research Assistant to the Assistant Dean*  
Vicki Porter, *Project Head* (Foundation for Documents of Architecture)  
Claire Sherman, *Project Head* (Sponsored Research in the History of Art)  
Susan Taylor, *Research Assistant to the Assistant Dean*

Cecelia Gallagher, *Assistant to the Program of Special Meetings*  
Deborah Gómez, *Assistant to the Fellowship Program*  
Amelia Henderson, *Secretary to the Kress Professor and Special Projects*  
Elsa Mezvinsky, *Assistant to the Program of Regular Meetings*  
Curtis Millay, *Assistant to the Program of Sponsored Research in the History  
of Art and Secretary to Research Programs*  
Helen Tangires, *Staff Assistant*

## CURATORIAL LIAISON

Diane De Grazia, *Curator of Southern Baroque Painting*  
Department of Southern Baroque Painting

## MEMBERS

*Samuel H. Kress Professor, 1990–1991*

Per Bjurström, National Swedish Art Museums (emeritus)

### *Senior Fellows*

David B. Brownlee, University of Pennsylvania

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1990–1991

*The Architecture of Louis I. Kahn*

Laura Corti, Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa; Villa I Tatti

Associate Appointment, spring 1991

*Terminology Control of Art-Historical Databases*

Dale Kent, University of California, Riverside

Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1990–1991

*Patrician Self-Definition in Historical and Urban Space: Cosimo de' Medici's Palace  
and His Patronage of the Arts*

Lothar Ledderose, Universität Heidelberg, Kunsthistorisches Institut

Paul Mellon Senior Fellow, 1990–1991

*Stone Inscriptions in the Buddhist Temple of Yunjusi near Peking*





Jane Shelton Livingston, George Mason University  
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1990–1991  
*The New York School: Photography, 1936–1963*

Gloria Ferrari Pinney, Bryn Mawr College  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1990–1991  
*Interpretation of Greek Vases: Image and Function*

John Tagg, State University of New York, Binghamton  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1990–1991  
*Maps of Modernity: Art Histories and Cultural Theories*

#### *Visiting Senior Fellows*

Jaynie Louise Anderson, University of Oxford, Ruskin School  
of Drawing and Fine Arts  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1991  
*A Monograph on Giorgione*

Görel Cavalli-Björkman, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, winter 1991  
*Dutch and Flemish Paintings: The Dutch School, 1600–1700*

Giuseppe Dardanello, Politecnico di Torino  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1990  
*Decorative and Architectural Drawings of the "Valperga Albums" in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Turin; Patrons and Architects within the Development of the Guarinian Workshops*

Paula Harper, University of Miami, Coral Gables  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, winter 1991  
*Daumier's Process: Merging Pop and Avant-Garde*

Ernő Marosi, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest,  
Institute of Art History  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1991  
*The Statue of Saint George (1373) by the Brothers Kolozsvár in Prague*

Boris Marshak, State Hermitage Museum, Leningrad  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1991  
*Metalwork of the Crusader Period*

Annaliese Mayer-Meintschel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1991  
*A Catalogue of Seventeenth-Century Flemish Paintings in the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden*

Olga Palagia, Athens University  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1991  
*Technical Aspects of Greek Marble Sculpture*

Nigel Robert Thorp, Glasgow University Library  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1990  
*An Edition of the Correspondence of James McNeill Whistler*

M.E. Warlick, University of Denver  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1990  
*Max Ernst and Alchemy: His Art, Alchemical Symbolism, and Its Psychological Implications*

#### *Soros Visiting Senior Research Fellows*

Werner Schade, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett  
Fall 1990–winter 1991  
*Studien zu Grünewalds Hinterlassenschaft*

Vojtěch Lahoda, Institute of Art History, Prague  
Spring–summer 1991  
*Czech Cubism, 1910–1921: The Origins and Art-Historical Relations*

*Ailsa Mellon Bruce National Gallery of Art Curatorial Fellow*

Gail Feigenbaum, Curator of Academic Programs

1 January 1991–30 June 1991

*Teaching and Learning in the Carracci Academy*

*Samuel H. Kress Postdoctoral Curatorial Fellow*

Christopher Thomas, National Gallery Archives

1990–1991

*Predocctoral Fellows*

Matthew Affron [Yale University]

Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 1990–1992

*The Advent of the Object: The Art and Art Theory of Fernand  
Léger, 1925–1940*

Barbara Shapiro Comte [Harvard University]

Chester Dale Fellow, 1990–1991

*The Modern Architectural Drawing in Its Context: Paris, 1791–1870*

Harold Foss Foster [City University of New York, Graduate School  
and University Center]

Paul Mellon Fellow, 1990–1993

*The Surrealist Attraction to the Uncanny, the Outmoded, and the Exotic*

Isabelle Frank [Harvard University]\*

Paul Mellon Fellow, 1988–1991

*Melozzo da Forlì and the Rome of Sixtus IV*

Alessandra Galizzi [Johns Hopkins University]\*

David E. Finley Fellow, 1988–1991

*Francia and Devotional Expression in Italian Art, c. 1500*

Randall C. Griffin [University of Delaware]\*

Wyeth Fellow, 1989–1991

*Thomas Anshutz: A Contextual Study of His Art, Teaching, and Influence*

Robert Edward Haywood [University of Michigan]

Wyeth Fellow, 1990–1992

*Beyond the Canvas: The Invention of Happenings*

- Ronda J. Kasl [New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]  
 Paul Mellon Fellow, 1989–1992  
*The Cartuja de Miraflores: A Study of Royal Patronage and Hispano-Flemish Style in Fifteenth-Century Burgos*
- Amy Kurlander [Harvard University]\*  
 Mary Davis Fellow, 1989–1991  
*The Later Work of Camille Corot: Varieties of Landscape Practice, 1850–1867*
- Mitchell F. Merling [Brown University]\*  
 Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 1989–1991  
*Marco Boschini and His Circle: Art, Theory, and Culture in Mid-Seventeenth-Century Venice*
- Kevin Dean Murphy [Northwestern University]  
 Mary Davis Fellow, 1990–1992  
*Architectural Restoration in France, 1830–1848*
- Nadine M. Orenstein [New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]  
 David E. Finley Fellow, 1989–1992  
*Hendrik Hondius (Duffel 1573–The Hague 1650): Prints and the Business of Printmaking in Seventeenth-Century Holland*
- D. Fairchild Ruggles [University of Pennsylvania]\*  
 Ittleson Fellow, 1989–1991  
*Madīnat al-Zahrā's Constructed Landscape: A Case Study in Islamic Garden and Architectural History*
- Frederic Schwartz [Columbia University]  
 Chester Dale Fellow, 1990–1991  
*The New Unity: Art and Technology at the Bauhaus*
- Philip Hotchkiss Walsh [Harvard University]  
 David E. Finley Fellow, 1990–1993  
*The Atelier of Gustave Moreau at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts*
- Ethel Sara Wolper [University of California, Los Angeles]  
 Ittleson Fellow, 1990–1992  
*Patronage and Practice in Late Saljuk and Early Beylik Anatolia: A Study of Dervish Lodges in Northeastern Anatolian Cities*

\*in residence 17 September 1990–31 August 1991

## MEETINGS

### *Symposia*

25–27 October 1990

TITIAN 500

#### SESSION I

*Moderator:* Henry A. Millon, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

Francesco Valcanover, Comitato Scientifico, Mostra di Tiziano, Venice

*La mostra di Tiziano: un primo bilancio critico*

Charles Hope, University of London, Warburg Institute

*Titian's Early Biographers*

Giovanna Nepi Scirè, Soprintendenza ai Beni Artistici e Storici, Venice

*Techniques and Execution of Some Paintings by Titian*

Sydney J. Freedberg, National Gallery of Art (emeritus)

*Attribution of the Allendale Nativity*

#### SESSION II

*Moderator:* Oreste Ferrari, Rome

Mauro Lucco, Università degli Studi di Bologna

*Painting in Venice around 1510: Titian's Role Reconsidered*

Augusto Gentile, Università di Roma I, "La Sapienza"

*Tiziano e la Religione*

Peter Humfrey, University of Saint Andrews

*The Prehistory of the Assunta*

Robert Echols, National Gallery of Art

*Titian's Venetian Soffitti*

#### SESSION III

*Moderator:* Patricia Fortini Brown, Princeton University

Terisio Pignatti, Università degli Studi di Venezia and  
Civici Musei Veneziani

*Abbozzi and Ricordi: New Suggestions on Titian's Technique*

Arthur Steinberg, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

*Changing Technological Styles in Venetian Painting, 1480–1520*

Rona Goffen, Rutgers University

*Titian's Sacred and Profane Love and Marriage*

David Rosand, Columbia University

*"So-and-So Reclining on Her Couch"*

SESSION IV

*Moderator:* Pierre Rosenberg, Musée du Louvre

David Bull, National Gallery of Art

*Conservation and Investigation of The Feast of the Gods*

Joyce Plesters, National Gallery, London (emerita)

*Examination of The Feast of the Gods: Corrigenda and Addenda*

Paolo Spezzani, Soprintendenza ai Beni Artistici e Storici, Venice

*Nondestructive Analysis of Titian's Paintings in Venice*

Ugo Ruggeri, Università degli Studi di Udine

*Due nuovi disegni di Tiziano ed una copia da Tiziano di Ludovico Carracci*

SESSION V

*Moderator:* Werner L. Gundersheimer, Folger Shakespeare Library

Wendy Stedman Sheard, Stony Creek, Connecticut

*Allusions to Sculpture in Titian's Camerino Painting*

Emanuele Mattaliano, Università degli Studi di Venezia

*Il Baccanale di Dosso Dossi della National Gallery di Londra:*

*nuove acquisizioni documentarie*





David Alan Brown, National Gallery of Art  
*The Pentimenti in The Feast of the Gods*  
Joseph Manca, Rice University  
*What Is Ferrarese about Bellini's Feast of the Gods?*

SESSION VI

*Moderator:* Douglas Lewis, National Gallery of Art

Paul Holberton, Surrey, England

*Bellini's Feast of the Gods as fête champêtre*

Jaynie Anderson, University of Oxford, Ruskin School  
of Drawing and Fine Arts

*Introducing Pietro and Vincenzo Camuccini as Collectors, Restorers,  
and Dealers*

8–9 February 1991

VAN DYCK 350

Cosponsored with the University of Maryland; Sessions III and IV held at the University of Maryland at College Park

SESSION I

*Moderator:* Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, New York University, Institute of Fine Arts

Katlijne Van der Stighelen, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven

*Young Anthony: Archival Evidence on His Early Years*

Justus Müller Hofstede, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn

*Van Dyck's Draftsmanship Obscured: The Sketchbook at Chatsworth*

Reinhold Baumstark, Sammlungen des Fürsten von Liechtenstein, Vaduz

*Van Dyck as Painter of Portraits in 1618*

SESSION II

*Moderator:* John Martin, Princeton University (emeritus)

Arnout Balis, Nationaal Centrum voor de Plastische Kunsten, Antwerp, Rubenianum

*Van Dyck: Some Problems in Attribution*

Joaneath Spicer, Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore

*ANT. VAN DYCK PINXIT: An Examination of the Terms of Reference and Sources of The Icones Centum (Iconography)*

Hans Vlieghe, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven and Rubenianum, Antwerp

*Thoughts about Van Dyck's Influence on Contemporary Flemish Painting*





SESSION III

*Moderator:* Susan J. Barnes, Dallas Museum of Art

Michael Jaffé, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (emeritus)

*Reflections on Some Genoese Portraits*

Piero Boccardo, Civica Galleria di Palazzo Rosso, Genoa

*I ritratti di genovesi di van Dyck: identificazioni accertate, proposte e respinte*

Amy L. Walsh, California State University, Northridge

*Van Dyck and the Court of Frederik Hendrik*

SESSION IV

*Moderator:* Arthur K. Wheelock, National Gallery of Art and  
University of Maryland

Graham Parry, University of York

*Van Dyck and the Caroline Court Poets*

Malcolm Rogers, National Portrait Gallery, London

*Lord George Stuart, Seigneur d'Aubigny as a Shepherd*

Jeremy Wood, Oxford Polytechnic

*Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland: Taste and Collecting  
in Stuart England*

12–13 April 1991

MIDDLE ATLANTIC SYMPOSIUM IN THE HISTORY OF ART:  
TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL SESSIONS

Cosponsored with the Department of Art History, University of Maryland  
at College Park

Introduction: John Yiannias

Donald A. McColl [University of Virginia]

*Early Christian Sculptures at Cleveland in Their Eastern Mediterranean  
Context*

Introduction: Lawrence P. Nees

Maureen Kupstas [University of Delaware]

*The Image of John the Evangelist in the Abbeville Gospels*

Introduction: Mary Pardo

Andrea Bolland [University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill]

*Ergon and Parergon in Mantegna's Vienna Saint Sebastian:  
The Rider in the Clouds Revisited*

Introduction: Charles Dempsey

Alessandra Galizzi [Johns Hopkins University]

*A "bizzarra Annonziazione" by Francesco Francia*

Introduction: Jeanne Chenault Porter

Michael Tomer [Pennsylvania State University]

*Velázquez' Forge of Vulcan Revisited*

Introduction: William L. Pressly

Debora Rindge [University of Maryland]

*Spanning the Views: The Role of the Natural Arch in American  
Landscape Painting*

Introduction: Kirk Savage

Paul Scolari [University of Pittsburgh]

*The Civil Ideal of Racial Harmony: Pittsburgh's Monument to  
Stephen Foster*

Introduction: David Bjelajac

Jenny Thompson [George Washington University]

*Washington Allston as Gil Blas: Temptation and Regeneration  
in Allston's Donna Mencía*

*Colloquia XCIII–IC*

11 October 1990

Per Bjurström, Samuel H. Kress Professor  
*Louis Jean Desprez and His Sicilian Recollections*

13 December 1990

Gloria Ferrari Pinney, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow  
*Figures of Speech: The Picture of Aidos*

6 February 1991

Lothar Ledderose, Paul Mellon Senior Fellow  
*Mao's Mausoleum*

7 March 1991

Jane Shelton Livingston, Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow  
*The New York School: Photography, 1936–1963*

4 April 1991

John Tagg, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow  
*A Discourse (With Shape of Reason Missing)*

30 April 1991

David B. Brownlee, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow  
*Louis I. Kahn: "In the Realm of Architecture"*

9 May 1991

Dale Kent, Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow  
*Renaissance Florence: The Patron's Oeuvre*

*Shoptalks*

18 October 1990

Randall C. Griffin, Wyeth Predoctoral Fellow  
*Remythologizing the Industrial Worker: Thomas Anshutz's  
The Ironworkers' Noontime*

29 November 1990

Isabelle Frank, Paul Mellon Predoctoral Fellow  
*Melozzo da Forlì and Problems in Fifteenth-Century Perspective*

31 January 1991

Alessandra Galizzi, David E. Finley Predoctoral Fellow  
*Problems in the Iconography of the Immaculate Conception, c. 1500*

27 February 1991

Mitchell F. Merling, Samuel H. Kress Predoctoral Fellow  
*Why Raphael Couldn't Draw: A Lesson in Painting from a  
Seventeenth-Century Venetian Professor*

13 March 1991

D. Fairchild Ruggles, Ittleson Predoctoral Fellow  
*The Hispano-Islamic Garden and the Question of Paradise*

18 April 1991

Amy Kurlander, Mary Davis Predoctoral Fellow  
*Corot's Souvenir de Mortefontaine: Landscape and the Beholder*

### *Incontri*

20 November 1990

Jochen Boberg, Museumspädagogischer Dienst, Berlin  
*Museum, Culture, and Communication*

25 January 1991

Jaromír Neumann, Charles University, Prague  
*The Flaying of Marsyas*

2 May 1991

Juan Bonta, University of Maryland at College Park  
*American Architects and Texts: A Study of the Names Cited in  
Architectural Literature*

### *Lectures*

5 October 1990

MALEVICH

A Program of Lectures

*Moderator:* Angelica Rudenstine, New York City

Jean-Claude Marcadé, Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique,  
Paris, and Institut du Monde Soviétique et de l'Europe Centrale et  
Orientale, Université de Paris-Sorbonne

*L'image de l'homme et l'image du monde: le visage dans l'oeuvre de Malevich*

Troels Andersen, Silkeborg Kunstmuseum

*Malevich: Recent Research, Questions and Results*



17 December 1990

Robert Garland, Colgate University

*Juvenile Delinquency in the Greco-Roman World*  
(Lecture abstract appears on page 33.)

### *Curatorial Colloquy III*

20–24 May 1991

SAINT ANNE ALTARPIECE

#### *Colloquy Chairs:*

Maryan Ainsworth, Metropolitan Museum of Art

John Hand, National Gallery of Art

Catherine Metzger, National Gallery of Art

#### *Participants:*

Dirk De Vos, Groeningemuseum, Bruges

Molly Faries, Indiana University

Diane Scillia, Kent State University

J.R.J. van Asperen de Boer, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen

Jean C. Wilson, State University of New York at Binghamton

Martha Wolff, Art Institute of Chicago

## LECTURE ABSTRACT

ROBERT GARLAND

Colgate University

*Juvenile Delinquency in the Greco-Roman World*

Some of the most engrossing questions that we can put to the ancient world are precisely those of current concern to our own society, whether or not we are able to obtain very precise answers. The fundamental questions that I wish to address here are: first, did juvenile delinquency exist in the Greco-Roman world? Second, what factors might have contributed toward it? Third, what form did it characteristically take? And fourth, how was it dealt with? Discussions of juvenile delinquency in contemporary society have failed to produce a consensus as to what kinds of behavior should be so classified, but for the sake of simplicity I shall adopt the one that is perhaps least contentious, namely, "any act committed by a juvenile that is punishable by law."

There is no discussion of juvenile delinquency in any ancient text, the delinquent was not a recognized type in the ancient world, and Greek and Roman law made no provision for dealing with this kind of offender. The charge of "corrupting the youth," which was brought against Socrates in 399 B.C., had nothing to do with the fact that his pupils had been observed committing acts of vandalism, say, or beating up the elderly; it was brought because they espoused antidemocratic sentiments. Yet it is abundantly clear that juvenile delinquency *did* exist both in Greece and in Rome and *was* a problem. I will examine juvenile delinquency in Greco-Roman culture in accordance with modern sociogenic and psychogenic explanations.



RESEARCH REPORTS OF MEMBERS

## RESEARCH REPORTS OF MEMBERS

The following research reports concern work accomplished by fellows of the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts who were in residence during the period June 1990 to May 1991. Additional reports are included by members whose fellowships ended as of August 1991. Remaining reports by Visiting Senior Fellows for the summer 1991 will appear in *Center 12*.



PER BJURSTRÖM

*The Genesis of the Public Art Museum*

Just before beginning my year at the Center for Advanced Study, I had finished writing a book on the Nationalmuseum, the national art museum of Sweden, in Stockholm. A comprehensive history of the museum and its collections, this work commemorates the bicentennial of the museum in 1992. Its preparation stimulated my interest in, and opened avenues of inquiry into, the cultural and political developments in Europe that provided a fertile soil for the creation of museums. My investigation in this area has resulted in a book on the genesis and the evolution of the public art museum from the mid-eighteenth through the mid-nineteenth century, from the Enlightenment to the revolutions that shook the social fabric of Europe and, in so doing, helped alter conditions for museums as well.

The first chapter deals with the initial attempts made as early as the seventeenth century to open art collections to a larger public. This, however, was done on a small scale, usually at the initiative of a few individuals. The rest of the book, divided into two major sections, traces eighteenth- and nineteenth-century trends and developments country by country. By the mid-eighteenth century the ideas of Mirabeau and Diderot on art and its public accessibility began to have a much stronger and more widespread influence. Rulers and royalty who took pride in being enlightened were attracted to these new ideals. Although the movement toward public art museums was complicated, there were three discernible trends. First were princes who advocated the physiocratism of Mirabeau and believed that meeting the demands for popular education might also strengthen their own power. This was the case of Grand Duke Pietro Leopoldo in Florence, Emperor Joseph II in Vienna, and King Gustavus III in Stockholm. An element of national pride figured in their plans. A second solution was chosen in France where the ideas of Diderot dominated. Diderot strove to open museums to the public, but not as a means to consolidate royal power or to advance "nationalism." The third trend was seen in Germany and Russia where princes competed in creating art collections but mostly were not interested in making them available to a larger public.

The regime of Napoleon changed all prevailing rules. His activity was an intermezzo which completely transformed conditions for the future of art museums. In Paris he assembled treasures from all parts of Europe to create a universal art museum reflective of his own stature. At the same time, his advocacy of the establishment of "national" art museums in countries under his jurisdiction resulted in the Brera in Milan, the Prado in Madrid, and the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. This trend continued after the fall of Napoleon, a period (1815–1850) that is covered in the second part of the

book. Many of the museums initiated by Napoleon were enriched when the treasures confiscated by the French finally were returned to their countries of origin.

England, which had neither been defeated nor occupied, benefited most from the Napoleonic sweep. British holdings of art tripled as refugees and immigrants brought treasures with them into exile and as French officers sold booty at auctions in London. The idea of creating a public art collection, however, arose rather late in England. Royal collections, in contrast to those of most other European countries, remained the private property of the crown. In Germany, which had been the most severely looted by the French armies during the Napoleonic wars, a nationalistic fervor arose that finally resulted in the creation of public art galleries.

Great Britain and Germany took the lead in creating a new building type, the detached art museum. With this the creative period in the history of the public art museum came to an end. Museums were built through the second half of the nineteenth century in Europe, but for the most part they did not offer further ideas in museum design. A new trend emerged after World War II when the modern movement in art opposed traditional values, but continued to advocate maintaining the quality and ostentatious character of treasure houses.

I also have taken advantage of the photographic archives and library of the National Gallery to advance a project on Italian baroque drawings for the sixth volume of my catalogue raisonné of old master drawings in the Nationalmuseum. These facilities are better equipped for such a project than any library in Sweden.

Another project, related to the subject of the *voyage pittoresque*, resulted in a talk presented at the annual meeting of the College Art Association, entitled "The Bicentralized City: Creating an Alternative to the Baroque Plan of Stockholm," in which I traced the romantic development of King Gustavus III's estate at Haga designed by Piper and Desprez.

National Swedish Art Museums (emeritus)  
Samuel H. Kress Professor, 1990-1991

DAVID B. BROWNLEE

*The Architecture of Louis I. Kahn*

My work has been almost entirely dedicated to the preparation of the retrospective exhibition *Louis I. Kahn: In the Realm of Architecture*, organized by the Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles. David G. De Long and I are the guest curators of the project and the coauthors of the accompanying book. I spent the fall writing my half of our biography of Kahn, and the spring has been devoted to seeing the book into production and putting the exhibition, which opens in October, in shape.

The importance of Kahn's work has long been widely recognized. Almost from the time he first began to receive international attention in the early 1950s, Kahn has been celebrated for reestablishing the moral seriousness of twentieth-century architecture and rescuing it from a drift toward meaningless formalism and self-parody. Kahn was able to reinvigorate modernism by openly acknowledging its position within a long idealist tradition. While this led him to place his architecture in a historical perspective, he also strove to bolster modernism's earnest new commitments to abstract communication and social purpose.

The exhibition and book portray Kahn more completely and vividly than has been done before. My own work included the first thorough investigation of his career before 1951, when fame found him at the age of fifty. While his early work does not predict later accomplishments, my understanding of his mature designs has been strengthened by an appreciation of some of his youthful experiences.

Kahn's architectural idealism had taken root during his training in the 1920s within the transplanted, American version of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, the University of Pennsylvania. Here the familiar teachings of academic classicism, founded on natural law and historical precedent, were attached to a highly developed regimen of plan-making that was designed to adapt these ideal considerations to real circumstances. This process of ideal-real translation fascinated Kahn, who returned repeatedly to the topic that he called "form and design."

The real conditions with which Kahn first grappled were those associated with the social role of modern architecture. The importance of this was impressed on him by the Depression and World War II, when he became seriously involved in the political and architectural work of public housing. At this time he also accomplished what at first seemed to be a comfortable conversion to the International style. But Kahn soon developed a mistrust of modernism's functionalist definition of human requirements and a distaste for the sweeping urban demolition that modern planners proposed for American cities. He became dedicated, even at an early period in his career,

to broader definitions of human need and to grassroots consultation with user communities. He also became wary of the apparently arbitrary compositional strategies of modern architecture—emblemized by the open plan.

In the 1940s, these concerns came together as Kahn joined the international discussion of “monumentality,” whose absence in modern architecture was much lamented by Kahn and other contemporary observers. Although some chose this moment to embrace a new historicism (and others have thought that Kahn was doing the same), he did not become a historicist. Like contemporary painters, he sought to reinvigorate rather than abandon abstraction, diverting it from its apparent arbitrariness and attaching it to the disciplines of visual order and broadly defined human service.

Kahn’s great mature works of the 1950s and 1960s were anchored in these themes. Their abstraction was distilled from the shapes of ancient monuments, rational structural forms, and archetypal social patterns, all organized by a revival of Beaux-Arts planning strategy. Like the classicism in which Kahn was trained, this abstraction was an idealization of the real, and thus infused with real potency and meaning.

In addition to embedding these ideas in an exhibition and a book, I also made use of my time at the Center to complete several smaller projects. I wrote a short article on the classical roots of Kahn’s plan-making for a forthcoming *festschrift*, and final revisions were made on two articles devoted to topics in nineteenth-century architecture.

University of Pennsylvania  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1990-1991

## GÖREL CAVALLI-BJÖRKMAN

### *Rembrandt and His School*

During my stay at the Center I have been working on Rembrandt and his school, a project that includes two publications. One is a catalogue for an exhibition to take place in the fall of 1992 at the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm. The other is a catalogue raisonné of the museum's seventeenth-century Dutch paintings.

The focus of the exhibition is nine Rembrandt paintings from the Nationalmuseum to which will be added another nine paintings from collections abroad. The additions—among them *A Girl with a Broom* from the National Gallery of Art, Washington—are in one way or another connected to the museum's Rembrandts. The first group of the Nationalmuseum Rembrandt paintings—*Self-Portrait*, *A Scholar in a Vaulted Room* (rejected), *A Lady in Profile*, and *Saint Petrus*—dated in the 1630s have been published by the Rembrandt Research Group in Amsterdam. Another group—*The Kitchen Maid*, *Old Woman*, *Old Man*, and *Simeon and the Christ Child* from the 1650s and 1660s—remains to be investigated and fully published. *The Oath of the Batavians* was published in a monograph by Carl Nordenfalk in 1982. The exhibition will also include paintings by the Utrecht Caravaggisti, the pre-Rembrandtists, among them Pieter Lastman, and works from Scandinavian collections by the Rembrandt pupils.

My work began with an intensive study of the most recent literature in the field. I then concentrated on some problems of attribution concerning the *Old Man* and *Old Woman* in order to challenge an opinion held by scholars in the Rembrandt Research Group who are not convinced that these works are genuine Rembrandts. I also have studied a painting from the Bucharest Museum, published by the Rembrandt scholars in Amsterdam as a joint work by Rembrandt and an anonymous pupil. I believe now that it is possible to give a more definite attribution.

In addition I have pursued a second line of investigation dealing with iconographical problems. Of special interest is a group of paintings with the subject of a girl leaning from a window or resting her elbows on a table or a fence. This theme, recurrent in the art of Rembrandt and his pupils, was first seen in some forceful paintings by the master during the period 1645–1655. The exhibition will present three of these works: *The Kitchen Maid* (Stockholm), *A Girl with a Broom* (Washington), and *A Girl Leaning on a Stone Pedestal* (Dulwich). All three have an interesting provenance dating to French eighteenth-century collections. One of them was the mythic *La Servante* owned by Roger de Piles and described by him in his *Cours de peinture par principes* as a veritable *trompe l'oeil*.

Most of my time at the Center has been spent researching and writing



Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Kitchen Maid*, 1651. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm

the bibliography of each work. This task, which is huge where Rembrandt is concerned, has been facilitated by the Center and the rich supply of literature on Dutch art in the National Gallery's library. As a curator I am especially thankful for the many opportunities to meet, and discuss mutual problems with, colleagues at the National Gallery: Arthur Wheelock, John Hand, David Brown, and Diane De Grazia. I also had the good fortune to meet colleagues from other American and European museums who came to Washington this winter for the Van Dyck symposium and the annual meeting of the College Art Association.

Nationalmuseum, Stockholm

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, spring 1991

*The Modern Architectural Drawing in Its Context: Paris, 1791–1875*

In my dissertation I set out to present a unified discourse on the evolution and conventions of the modern architectural drawing between 1791 and 1875 in Paris, where modern professional training and practice were defined. The period represents vividly the transition from an essentially medieval crafts tradition in which the master mason or architect collaborated with the building guilds in the production of drawings for design and construction, as well as collaborating on the site, to the postrevolutionary architect, distinguished by his intellectual and theoretical training, who was segregated socially, professionally, and institutionally from the construction trades. During this period the *dessin d'exécution*, the working or construction drawing (as opposed to unchanged types such as the concept sketch, design composition, or presentation board) developed its distinctive nineteenth-century character.

Because of instability in the building trades, little actual construction, and upheavals at teaching institutions between 1791 and 1830, architectural historians have largely ignored this transitional moment. Moreover, because of its difficult technical nature and precarious, tendentious position within the academic tradition, the construction drawing has been summarily neglected. My hypothesis is that the *dessin d'exécution* is the fundamental architectural document reflecting and embodying, in its full physical and theoretical character, inclinations of nineteenth-century modernism: "to enoble technical necessities by artistic aims" (W. Benjamin). Its assessment is critical to our understanding of normative architectural practice.

The study begins in 1791 with the radical upheavals in architectural practice resulting from the Dallarde and Le Chapelier laws abolishing feudal *corporations* or guilds. I examine the verbal proceedings of the National Assembly and subsequent decrees and constitutional law to isolate four political and institutional actions that bear directly on the technical drawing: the closure of the Administration of the Royal Building Works and Royal Academy of Architecture; the undermining of the apprenticeship tradition; the establishment of *compagnonnages* or workers' unions; and state intervention in the arts to maintain and improve artisanal, professional, and trade skills. Despite radical administrative transformation, however, architects and building trades resisted change. I am discovering through comparisons of drawings for the Mint (1767) and the Stock Exchange (1807) that collaboration on working drawings persisted, with many early eighteenth-century graphic conventions.

Revolutionary ideology and Napoleonic educational reforms, together with rapid industrial progress between 1800 and 1815, ultimately enforced changes in the teaching and practice of architecture. In the second chapter I address how these events affected the role of the technical drawing within

the curricula of four institutions: the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, the Ecole Polytechnique, and the Ecole Nationale des Ponts et Chaussées. Considered the contentious mediating point between theory and practice, between the academy and the trades, architectural education was debated in polemical tracts and publicly by controversial Academicians, radical politicians, practicing architects, professors, and literary figures such as Quatremère de Quincy, Abbé Gregoire, Viollet-le-Duc, Durand, and Victor Hugo.

In chapter three I analyze the folios of unpublished student drawings for construction courses and *concours* held at the professional schools. I then compare and contrast these works with uncatalogued groups of drawings by apprentice and professional draftsmen from the Ecole Gratuite de Dessin at the Conservatoire, who were hired by the state or by inventors to execute scaled drawings of industrial or agricultural machines (often housed within architectural settings); these were intended to be submitted for patent licensing, or circulated as engravings for public edification. My concern is to elucidate the innovations and anachronisms both in the drawing techniques and in the technical information they convey, distinguishing the dry, rational, hyperrealist control of media and science at the Conservatoire with the painterly, narrative style in the early years at the other schools, which only gradually enforced standards for working drawings.

A distinct vocabulary emerges by mid-nineteenth century. I propose in chapter four that, along with demands of technique, it was also the effects of illustrated treatises by professors of the *grandes écoles* (Prony, Monge, Durand, Rondelet, Mandar), drawing manuals, and popular construction guides that established and enforced drawing conformity among architects.

Scrutinizing three typical drawing sets for the Bourse, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the Opéra, I summarize nineteenth-century graphic conventions in chapter five. These include regulations for orthography, scale, dimensioning, legends, symbols, abstractions, color, and line weight, as well as formats for written attachments, such as cost estimates, change orders, and work schedules. I note the conceptual organization of the sets, the division of labor in their production, and the growing complexity of construction details as timber and limestone gave way to combinations of stone, brick, iron, and glass. My observations to date are that the noninterpretative, anonymous, and regimented style of the contract set is well-established by mid-century, notational idiosyncrasy and expressive artistic flairs having been all but obliterated by the weight of bureaucratic regulations of the *Conseil des bâtiments civils*.

Chapter six introduces the subject of the legal and contractual apparatus of the working drawing, altered as a result of the Napoleonic Code. I discovered that arguments surrounding its legal status echoed in large part those debates among architects and Academicians regarding architectural training because of the inherent ambiguity in the nature of the drawing,



Jean Nicholas Huyot, *Project to Renovate the Palais de Justice*, c. 1835.  
Musée Carnavalet, Paris

containing both artistic invention and technical data. In isolating particular legal cases, I demonstrate how the architect's drawing as artistic copyright was unsatisfactorily protected by the law. Case studies also show how the technical drawing served as a binding contract between architect, patron, and contractor, and was cited in court as proof of intent.

I conclude with a survey of the technical state of Parisian nineteenth-century drawings, discussing media, support, and instrumentation. Readapting traditional methods of connoisseurship to illuminate new conditions has proven fruitful in enlarging on central themes: the abrupt transition from a craft to mechanized culture; fluctuations in market economies; shifts in hierarchies in the *agences*. A 1782 document by draftsman Lequeu illustrates

the repertoire of tools and media used by one of his class: Indian wood ruler divided into *pieds de Roi*, crow's quill, badger bristle brush, vegetable sponge, Chinese ink block, and Dutch handmade laid paper. Less than sixty years later, the typical delineator worked with copper-tipped boxwood meter, T-square, fine steel nibs, liquid bottled inks, English watercolors, optical aids, and an array of machine-made transparent, wove, manila, and graph papers from France and England. I suggest that rapid advances in mechanical reproduction—from lithography in the 1810s and chromolithography in the 1830s, to blueprinting and photolithography in the late 1860s—reduced drafting tasks and altered presentation. With the fellowship, I completed a first draft of the thesis.

[Harvard University]  
Chester Dale Fellow, 1990–1991

LAURA CORTI

*Terminology Control of Art-Historical Data Bases*

According to two international surveys on the use of computers for art-historical information (*Census: Computerization in the History of Art*, 1984, and *SN/G Report on Data Processing Projects in Art*, 1988), the percentage of controlled vocabulary systems or thesauri in use has increased from 10 to 60 percent in only four years. This is witness to the fact that huge data bases need to be organized according to rules to guide data entry and facilitate its retrieval.

With my project on vocabulary control of art-historical data bases, I faced the need to study initially the concept of standards, of which vocabulary is only one aspect. Following the current definition of standards in information systems, I have concentrated on the most generally adopted data-structure standards, data-contents standards, and data-value standards. As a result of such analysis, I sketched a sort of guide, in Italian, to these three categories of standards, which are equivalent to models of data, the syntax within their elements, and the choice of terminology.

I chose as a cornerstone for analysis of the data-structure standards the MARC formats, in particular the offspring of the USMARC: MARC/AMC, MARC/VM, and MARC/Authority), because they are the most established and have gained some international acceptance. Comparing these with some national data-structure standards, such as those established by the Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione in Rome, or the French standards established by the Inventaire Général des Monuments et Richesses Artistiques de la France, allows us to introduce the concept of compatibility and of possible exchange. Like library information systems, the art community must move toward on-line catalogues.

Much more complex and less compatible is the relationship between the data-contents standards generated by the adaptation of the Anglo-American Cataloguing Rules (AACR2), which are generally accepted in the United States in archival description and visual material cataloguing, and the various European national rules, which differ considerably.

Finally, I have studied the data-value standards or authority control and vocabulary control, which have a long tradition in library science dating to 1876 when Charles Ami Cutter published the *Rules for a Dictionary Catalogue*. But the history of vocabulary control for nonbook material and art objects is very short. Attention has been paid to the problem only since the proliferation of computers in the 1970s. Several publications, which appeared in both America and Europe, suggest that there are two schools or methods of approaching the problem. One is the Anglo-American school, based on the concept of controlling a wide range of information in a classified way, as

a thesaurus does. The second or Franco-Italian method keeps track of terminology by subject matter, like a *teatro della memoria*, as a specialized dictionary does, but now in a more structured way.

America has produced thesauri such as the *Art and Architecture Thesaurus*, sponsored by the Art History Information Program at the Getty Trust, and *Graphic Materials* at the Library of Congress. The *Inventaire Général des Monuments et Richesses Artistiques de la France* has published several volumes of *Méthode et vocabulaire*, dictionaries for architecture, sculpture, and furnishings, each accompanied by its own *Système descriptif*. The Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione in Italy has published several *Dizionari terminologici*, along with the *Norme per la compilazione delle schede di catalogo*. We can also find in Europe some interesting Anglo-American approaches such as the bilingual thesaurus produced in Brussels by the Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique and the Italian *Thesaurus della suppellettile liturgica*. But even when they are prepared according to a classified thesaurus structure, they are devoted only to a particular aspect of art-historical terminology. The longer tradition in this field is Anglo-American; thus the vast literature on the subject, including the evaluation of recall and precision ratios in data bases, is in English and based mostly on American English usage.

In dealing with vocabulary control, the complex problem of subject access—literally speaking with visual materials—means iconographical analysis. I have studied the most widely used classification systems, ICONCLASS and Garnier's *Thesaurus Iconographique*, which both can be used for the three Panofsky levels of description: pre-iconographical, iconographical, and iconological. ICONCLASS is a highly structured, omnicomprehensive system, which explains its broad acceptance. However, Garnier must be considered as a careful guide to listing the elements of a pictorial subject and their literary sources.

The original idea of my project has been tested in a series of seminars prepared for the “Corsi di Tecnologie Informatiche per i Beni Culturali,” especially one on “Standards and Vocabulary Control,” organized by the Scuola Normale Superiore in Pisa for museum curators and officers in the Italian Soprintendenze. My stay at the Center has brought me to the end of the first part of my project. The guide prepared with the title *Beni culturali: standards di rappresentazione, di descrizione e di contenuto* has now been published by Panini in Modena.

Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa; Villa I Tatti  
Associate, spring 1991

*Decorative and Architectural Drawings of the "Valperga Albums" in the Biblioteca Nazionale of Turin*

The Biblioteca Nazionale in Turin is the repository of a collection of drawings known as the "Valperga Albums," which contain architectural, decorative, and furniture drawings dating from just before the middle of the sixteenth century to the first years of the eighteenth century. The collection consists of two albums of 41 and 159 sheets (q.I.64 and q.I.65).

In pointing out the importance of this body of drawings and the peculiarity of this kind of collection, Henry Millon (1967) and Giovanni Romano (1982) have suggested some precise identifications for the Piedmontese drawings and for the cultural areas that influenced the artistic orientation of the dukes of Savoy, the ruling family of that region. On the basis of those suggestions I started to work on more basic issues, including the analysis of the physical collection, a reconstruction of the biography of the architect Maurizio Valperga, previously ill-studied, and the identification of the drawings.

The contents of the two albums are different. The first one contains mainly architectural drawings, the only apparent criterion of their arrangement being to bring together plans and elevations of the same project. The second gathers a larger and more varied collection of drawings, predominantly of decorative arts; its prevailing arrangement is typological: ceilings, chimneys, collection cabinets, and so on.

It is apparent that there are some homogeneous groups of drawings, either in style or in subject, originally from earlier collections, that have been separated and reassembled in these albums. The complex nature of the Valperga Albums is of interest specifically because of the overlap of different intentions and functions. It is a collection of projects of Maurizio Valperga, an engineer-architect who worked between the 1630s and 1670s, and reflects his professional concerns. But it is also an arrangement of groups of drawings deriving from more than one graphic collection, gathered at different times beyond the period of activity and culture of the architect Maurizio Valperga. It is evidence of exchanges of cultural experience and technical expertises between architects, sculptors, cabinetmakers, carvers, plaster workers, painters, and so on within the court workshop in the seventeenth century. It is a repertory of drawings and models that was useful either for training where there were no schools and academies, or for the architect's daily work.

Maurizio Valperga was trained as a military engineer in Piedmont in the 1630s and became the most important architect of the Savoy court in 1643, when he planned the completion of the Ducal palace of Turin. In 1645 he left Turin to join the army of the king of France. In Paris he met Cardinal Mazarin, for whom he planned the library and the stables of his palace,

later, the site of the Bibliothèque Nationale. During the military campaign of 1650, Valperga was captured and imprisoned in the fortress of Castelnuovo, in Naples, where he remained for nine years. Finally, in 1659 Valperga returned to Paris and was involved in the three most important projects commissioned by Mazarin: the Theatine church of Sainte-Anne-la-Royale, the Collège des Quatre-Nations, and the funerary monument of the cardinal. A few years later, in 1661, Valperga was sent by Colbert to Alsace, to plan the fortresses of Brisach and Philipsbourg. At the end of the 1660s these defensive works were criticized by Vauban. A serious debate ensued: Valperga left France and returned to work in Piedmont, where in 1667 he was appointed first engineer of the duke of Savoy, and where he designed numerous buildings and contributed to the planning of the second enlargement of Turin.

The reconstruction of Maurizio Valperga's biography, made possible by the identification of his drawings in this collection, offers an example of a military technician's career, still possible at the European courts in the seventeenth century. Such a career was based on apprenticeship in the field, and on the hereditary transmission of the trade. In seventeenth-century Piedmont there were at least five pairs of father-and-son military engineers: Castellamonte, Vanello, Morello, Bellano, and Maurizio Valperga with his son Andrea. The most precious inheritance in the wills of these engineers was the body of architectural models—the album of drawings that could be used with the smallest variations until the architectural or decorative idea was completely exhausted. The limits of the Piedmontese military engineer's technical pragmatism are recognized precisely in Valperga's career: on the one hand he was confronted with increasing professional specialization, because of Vauban, who presented himself exclusively as a military engineer; on the other, this kind of pragmatism had to be confronted, especially in the city of Turin, with the inventive and experimental architecture of an intellectual such as Guarino Guarini.

My stay at the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, and the opportunity of seeing various graphic collections in the United States, allowed me to identify other groups of drawings in this collection, not related to Valperga but often to the commissions of the Savoys. A drawing for a candlestick for Pope Paul III Farnese, of very high quality (probably by Francesco Salviati), and a preparatory drawing for a mural painting representing a prophet in a niche, belonging to the circle of artists who worked on the decoration of the Palazzo Farnese at Caprarola (most probably by Giovanni de Vecchi), tell us of the close contacts between the Farnese court and the court of Emanuele Filiberto of Savoy in the 1560s and 1570s.

Politecnico di Torino

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1990

CAROLYN S. DEAN

*Painted Images of Cuzco's Corpus Christi:  
Social Conflict and Cultural Strategy in Viceregal Peru*

Among the most celebrated canvases created in colonial Peru (1532–1825) are a series of sixteen oil paintings on canvas, produced by anonymous artists c. 1674–1680, depicting the Corpus Christi procession in the city of Cuzco. These canvases differ from the majority of colonial period artistic work because they are neither biblical nor hagiographic in subject, but rather depict a local, experienced event. Represented in the Corpus Christi canvases, which vary in size from roughly six feet square to over seven-by-eleven-and-a-half feet, are various Cuzcan sodalities and indigenous parishes escorting their patron saints. Also portrayed are members of European religious orders and local political and ecclesiastic authorities. Many of the canvases depict a varied assemblage of witnesses to the passing cortege. This pictorial congregation is diverse; both genders are represented as are people of indigenous Andean, European, African, and mixed heritage. The canvases also feature a wide range of economic types and a spectrum of ages.

Owing to the diversity of peoples depicted, the series is renowned as a valuable document of seventeenth-century, colonial, Latin American society. While the series does indeed offer a vision of late seventeenth-century Cuzco, the construction of that vision has never been critically examined; as a consequence, the “documentation” encoded in the series floats free from the history it is held to witness. My dissertation, through an examination of the historical context within which the festival of Corpus Christi operated, offers an analysis of the particular construction of Cuzcan society presented in the Corpus Christi series.

The paintings, as a series, represent the visions of numerous patrons. In so doing, the paintings can be seen as manifestations of different, sometimes conflicting, cultural strategies through which these various sponsors articulated their own public identities. The presentation of oneself was a critical aspect of Cuzcan public festivities. Within the festive confines, each formulation of identity was offered to the general populace, but played specifically to an omnipresent audience of superiors who could affect societal positioning. Likewise the paintings, which were displayed in a parish church before a general audience of indigenous Andeans, were oriented toward Spanish authorities who viewed the commissioning of church art as proof of Christian devotion and community spirit.

Because the paintings ostensibly document a Christian festival, it was necessary to examine the Spanish Corpus Christi festival and how its festive form and structure were received by native Andeans. The Spanish Corpus Christi was traditionally staged as a triumph. In it, non-Christian groups

(often Moors and Turks) were vanquished by the triumphant Eucharistic host. In the New World, indigenous religion became the vanquished opponent. The triumph of Christianity manifested in Corpus Christi was especially meaningful given Cuzco's status as the former capital of the prehispanic Inca empire and the center of the imperial solar cult.

Significantly, the festival of Corpus Christi in Cuzco has been identified as the hybrid of Christianity and the prehispanic Inca festival of the sun, Inti Raymi. I argue that Cuzco's Corpus Christi was not the syncretic confluence of two religions, but rather that the triumphal structure of Corpus Christi incorporated non-Christian elements as a means of demonstrating the triumph of Christianity (and Christians). Thus Corpus Christi in Cuzco should not be characterized as some Christianized version of Inti Raymi, but as an assertion of triumph over Inti Raymi. Indeed, the dissertation demonstrates how a number of indigenous elements featured in the paintings serve to underscore the superiority of Christ rather than subvert or undermine his "triumph."

Of particular interest to me is the representation of native Andeans, who sponsored a number of the canvases. Five of the canvases depict the leaders of indigenous parishes fully dressed in a modified version of Inca imperial costume. Also portrayed in one of the canvases of the series is a group of prominent non-Inca Andeans who display emblems of their ethnic group. This suggests that indigenous ethnic groups still retained separate identities over 150 years after the Spanish conquest. In part, it was the presence of the Spaniards that aggravated inter-Andean ethnic rivalries. These groups featured in various canvases of the Corpus Christi series cling to their specific ethnicities precisely because the Spanish system rewarded them for the deeds or status of their ancestors.

From the manner of portrayal, native elite—both Inca and non-Inca—clearly recognized their ethnic heritage as crucial to their standing in colonial society. Their costuming and manner of festive presentation underscored their liminal position at the threshold of Andean and European worlds. The Corpus Christi series, for all its Europeanized appearance, indicates that just below its Europeanized surface can be detected the active and intelligent presence of indigenous Andeans who manipulated both European and Andean systems of signification. The series suggests that postconquest art was not merely a matter of the increasing Europeanization and diminishing Andean-ness of Andeans, but of Andeans' intelligent assessment, and utilization, of both foreign and indigenous forms.

[University of California, Los Angeles]  
Chester Dale Fellow, 1989–1990

ANN GIBSON

*Toward a Cultural History of Abstract Expressionism: Gender and  
"Race" in the New York School*

I had worked for a number of years on a study of the theory of abstract expressionism when I began to notice that the movement's characteristics had appeared by the mid-1940s in the work of a more diverse group of artists than those who later passed through the sieve of early 1950s conservatism. The rising of some to wide recognition that others do not achieve is hardly an unfamiliar phenomenon in any field; but in this case, the sorting process eliminated not only a number of European American men, but also virtually every one of a rather large number of women, people of color, and those not avowedly heterosexual. Was it a mere coincidence, I wondered, that the "best" art was always produced by those whose identities were white, male, and heterosexual, or were there cultural mechanisms operating to guarantee it?

This led me to explore the construction of some of abstract expressionism's most celebrated terms—its "universality," its "originality," and its "quality," for instance—by investigating their operation in the art world in relation to attitudes, customs, and laws regarding sexuality and race in the 1940s. I realized that I could hardly explain ideas operating in the formation of New York abstract expressionism without taking into account the conjunctions I found, and as I worked on this aspect of abstract expressionist theory, it expanded until I realized that I was working on a book, not a chapter.

The book will emphasize two aspects of this problem—the binarism of male and female identity (and the apparent exclusion of other possibilities), and the inspiration abstract expressionism drew from African and Native American cultures. It should be emphasized, though, that the contribution to abstract expressionism of art by Americans of Chinese, Japanese, and Puerto Rican descent still deserves careful reevaluation, as does the Jewish heritage of many of its practitioners. That its dominance as a mode centered on painting, as opposed to sculpture, photography, or "crafts," is also an aspect of its hegemony that deserves closer scrutiny.

My reasons for focusing on African American identity and gender are theoretical and geographical. Briefly, two of the theoretical concepts on which abstract expressionism relied—a constellation of ideas surrounding the idea of woman and a related set of ideas surrounding the "primitive"—depended on a culturally dominant and objectivizing view of the potential of women, Native Americans, and African Americans in real life. The problem is complicated by the fact that identity in these groups was often an overlapping affair: black men and white men often displayed a similar propensity to objectify women; some women were straight, others were

not. I bring up the permeability of the boundaries of gender and “race” because the stereotypes of masculine and feminine, of Caucasian and Negro, often failed to correspond to, or account for, lived experience.

The flexibility of these boundaries is evident in abstract expressionism not only in images such as Jackson Pollock’s *Male and Female* (with figures whose sexuality has been notoriously indeterminate) but in terms of form as well. Even in abstraction, African Americans, homosexuals, and women were objectified as signs of qualities that often were quite foreign to their conception of themselves as people. To paint decoratively was to make art that was not forceful, that is, “sissy,” and thus not male; to paint “primitively” was to evade conscious control and thus the artificiality of convention. If artists whose identities were associated with the “sissy,” with the “primitive,” were to maintain a position within the avant-garde, they had to negotiate a position within their art in regard to such stereotypes. The identity and experiences of artists such as Sonia Sekula, Norman Lewis, and Hedda Sterne, whose works have fallen outside the canon, would strive to escape into the “primitive” or away from the feminine naive and self-defeating. Their work often shows by its greater complexity and by the presence of conflicting codes, signs of the artists’ positions both inside and outside this ideology.

The analysis of the series of disruptive “race” and gender issues that riddled postwar culture in New York opens another powerful perspective. “Race” in New York, for instance, meant Negro; but the ethnic group with whose values the abstract expressionists announced their concern were Native Americans. White New Yorkers, though, not much worried about Indians, were concerned to define themselves as distinct from a large African American identity in their midst. The rhetoric of an initial surge of postwar integrationist sentiment did not prevent the reemergence of increasingly racist legislation, anti-Negro violence, and unemployment in New York. Gay and lesbian concerns were spotlighted when thousands of male and female “inverts” purged from the armed forces after the war found it impossible to return home and preferred to settle instead in cities such as New York. Their postwar presence was made more public by pressures to identify and evict them from government and civil service positions. The “woman problem” was nationwide: even before the end of the war educators and legislators began to worry that Rosie the Riveter would balk at exchanging her overalls for an apron.

Focusing on the play between visual images and the action of such subtexts of race and gender will not only expand the meanings of familiar works, but will also make available a framework for interpreting works by artists whose identities and concerns have until now guaranteed their obscurity.

Yale University

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1990

*A Contextual Study of the Art and Teaching of Thomas Anshutz*

My dissertation is the first in-depth study concerning the art and teaching of the Philadelphia painter Thomas Anshutz (1851–1912). Previously, scholars have concentrated on a limited range of Anshutz's works, in particular realist paintings such as *The Ironworkers' Noontime* (1880). A selective examination offers a distorted, monolithic record of his art, reducing him to the mold of his former teacher, Thomas Eakins. Encompassing a wide range of styles and themes, Anshutz's work is in fact as diverse as that of any American artist of his era. Although his portraiture retained a well-crafted realism throughout his career, Anshutz concurrently experimented with impressionist-, Nabis-, and even fauve-inspired watercolors, pastels, and oils.

A central part of the dissertation focuses on Anshutz's best-known painting, *The Ironworkers' Noontime*. His selection of an industrial theme was quite unusual in 1880 for an American artist. This dearth of American industrial imagery (at a time when post-Civil War America was undergoing large-scale industrialization) raises significant questions concerning the relationship between social change and art, and the process of artistic assimilation of new iconography. Although popular illustrations of factory life and paintings such as John Ferguson Weir's *Forging the Shaft* (1867) were produced, they are anomalous—and unlike *Ironworkers' Noontime*—portray men actually working. Focusing on the men as individuals, Anshutz's depiction of the industrial worker discards the accepted representation of the ironworker as Vulcan-at-the-forge. By consciously ignoring popular stereotypes of ironworkers, and instead depicting the men at a noontime work break, Anshutz undercut any sense of the horrific or melodramatic. His recording of this mundane activity in a manner that seems to emulate the camera's veracity further distances the scene from any preternatural associations. Anshutz's decision to produce so distinctive an image while still a student at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts suggests that he considered it a kind of competition piece: a painting that would stand out in any exhibition. The monumental, frieze-like composition of figures allowed him to display his skills of figure composition, anatomy, and perspective. In style and methodology the image is an affirmation of the art of his teacher, Thomas Eakins, an homage to him. When first exhibited, in January 1881 at the Philadelphia Sketch Club, it was hung below an Eakins, and critics stated that it was patterned after Eakins' work. Both artists dispassionately objectify the human body. *The Ironworkers' Noontime* also manifests changing American perceptions about industrialization and the workplace, as well as embodying late Victorian notions of masculinity.

In the dissertation I examine as well Anshutz's career as a teacher at the Pennsylvania Academy. By 1885, he and other junior academy faculty members



Thomas Anshutz, *The Ironworkers' Noontime*, 1880. Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller III

had come to resent the director of the school—Thomas Eakins—for what they perceived as a dogmatic approach to teaching and an unwillingness to vary course curriculum. They also believed that Eakins had committed serious ethical transgressions involving female students, which has never been proven. Anshutz took a leading role in Eakins' ouster from the academy in 1886. Yet he continued many of his former teacher's approaches to instruction. While rejecting Eakins' "scientific" method, with its emphasis on dissection, photographic motion studies, and perspective, Anshutz continued to propagate Eakins' emphasis on the empirical study of nature. Both taught an unidealized, strongly-modeled style of painting. Believing that art schools were not in the business of teaching art, but rather fundamental skills and knowledge, Anshutz nevertheless encouraged his students to develop their own artistic visions. In class assignments and in numerous after-class discussions, he emphasized the necessity for artistic change, experimentation, and the questioning of accepted conventions. As influential as Benjamin West and Robert Henri, Anshutz acted as a nexus between Eakins and the Eight of 1908, and as a catalyst for the beginnings of early American modernism in Philadelphia. Anshutz taught artists such as Robert Henri, John Sloan,

William Glackens, George Luks, Charles Demuth, Hugh Breckenridge, Arthur B. Carles, and John Marin.

In considering Anshutz's modernist paintings, I focus on works such as *Steamboat on the Ohio* (c. 1896), which is one of the earliest postimpressionist images painted in America. Reflecting Anshutz's recent stay in Paris, where he was first exposed to the art of the Nabis, the painting is a strange conflation of conservative Gauguin and Mark Twain. It offered the viewer the vicarious pleasure of escaping into a nostalgic world. Despite its modern style, *Steamboat on the Ohio* is essentially an adaptation of popular artistic conventions that juxtaposed the rural and the industrial, the past and the present. Throughout the 1890s Anshutz also produced a series of abstract oil sketches of the Pennsylvania landscape. His later fauve-inspired oil and gouache sketches, which date from 1911, are some of the most daring produced in Philadelphia prior to the Armory Show. Anshutz's modernist paintings raise many questions concerning the development of early American modernism and undercut traditional notions about the separation between realist and modernist, conservative and avant-garde. This is not to argue that Anshutz is a major modernist: he painted only a small number of such works, and they were never exhibited publicly. Moreover, Anshutz was an artist clearly rooted in the nineteenth century, of the generation and training of Eakins and Winslow Homer. It was this artistic and cultural milieu that forged his outlook and made his forays into modern painting extremely unusual.

[University of Delaware]  
Wyeth Fellow, 1989–1991



Honoré Daumier, *Exposition de peinture de 1868—Le dernier coup de pinceau*, engraved by Etienne, first published 1868. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Arthur E. Vershbow

PAULA HARPER

*Honoré Daumier's Process: Merging Pop and Avant-Garde*

Ultimately I want to reposition Daumier in a revised history of art in which he is not a peripheral figure. Therefore, during my stay at the Center for Advanced Study, I concentrated on his roots in the tradition of fine art in France and on the later branching of his peculiar synthesis of tradition and innovation as seen in its effects on the work of van Gogh and Degas. At the National Gallery, I was able to consult a number of publications by Alexandre Lenoir, agreed by Daumier's biographers to have been his only formal teacher for an unknown length of time in the 1820s when Daumier was in his teens. Alexandre Lenoir (1761–1839) was a remarkable figure—artist, teacher, man of letters, antiquarian, and founder and director of the *Musée des Monuments français*, a collection of sculpture rescued from the vandalism of the revolution. His first publication was a play; the classical theater was one of his enduring interests (an interest he shared with Daumier's father, who wrote classical tragedies as well as poetry). Perhaps Lenoir's most personal book, *Observations scientifiques et critiques sur le génie et les principales productions des peintres et autres artistes*, appeared in 1821, close to the time of Daumier's study with him. In this book Lenoir outlined the traditional method of teaching art by learning from the masters of the past; he mentioned the copies he had made of works by Michelangelo (The Last Judgment in a reduced version, for example), Rubens, Titian, Veronese, Teniers, and others, as well as engravings he owned of Giulio Romano's frescoes for the Palazzo del Tè in Mantua by Theodore de Bry. He also described Charles Lebrun's suite of drawings illustrating the various facial expressions of the *Passions de l'Ame*, long thought to be the kind of study that influenced Daumier. There is no written record of Daumier's experience as the pupil of Lenoir, but it seems clear that the youngster would have been exposed to a solid academic approach, would have drawn from sculpture and from engravings and copies of paintings, and might have absorbed Lenoir's taste for fulsome and physical imagery. As early as 1834, Daumier showed his mastery of traditional baroque composition, techniques of realistic representation, and his understanding of the principles of history painting applied to a contemporary subject in *La Rue Transnonain*. Although Daumier worked in a small format and in the "low" medium of lithography, his approach depended on the kind of precedent seen in Géricault's elevation of a news event to tragic proportions through the use of a grand style in *The Raft of the Medusa*. Daumier's firm grounding in tradition equipped him to utilize its conventions in new combinations; his humor distanced him from tradition to a certain degree, allowing him to parody it in his prints (such as the *Ancient History* series of the 1840s) and to attempt to revitalize it in his paintings.

Daumier's legacy to the vanguard artists who developed more self-consciously radical relationships to tradition in the late nineteenth century is complex and pervasive. He is considered a representative of the many pictorial journalists who flourished in Paris in response to new political and social structures and new technologies that allowed pictures to be reproduced in large numbers and sold cheaply. This legacy, however, can be analyzed concretely in the work of Degas and van Gogh, both of whom collected Daumier's social (not political) caricatures—Degas, the lithographs and van Gogh, the more linear, wiry, wood engravings after drawings. Looking at a group of Daumier lithographs included in the sale of Degas' studio after his death, it seems clear that Degas admired and could have utilized Daumier's transformation of mundane subjects into formally sophisticated pictorial images, including his strategies for depicting light and motion; the innovative compositions often produced by Daumier's psychologically intimate point of view; and his ability to suggest a short but full episode in a meta-narrative with a single, self-contained image.

Examination of a group of wood engravings that van Gogh specifically described and praised in letters to his brother Theo revealed that Vincent admired Daumier's energy and passion—what he called a “passion like white hot iron.” He also admired Daumier's choice of the “natural” man as subject, his skill at capturing mood, emotion, and character with expressive drawing of faces, gestures, and positions, and his true “modern types,” as opposed to historical fictions.

Not surprisingly, what each artist admired in Daumier reflected his own temperament and interests. The crucial point is that Daumier's prints were more than sources of specific images for Degas and van Gogh. They were models of an approach, a set of strategies and choices that signaled a changing paradigm of the relationships between artist, subject, audience, and authority.

University of Miami

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visting Senior Fellow, winter 1991

DALE KENT

*The Vocabulary of Power in Early Medicean Florence*

My year at the Center for Advanced Study enabled me to complete all but the final draft of a book on which I have been working for some years, entitled *The Vocabulary of Power in Early Medicean Florence*. My aim is to place Medicean intellectual and artistic patronage in the wider context of patrician patronage in its various senses: that personal patronage which forms networks of friends and associates who are also political supporters and partisans, and who create and share the cultural interests and contacts that result in patronage of the arts. This present project extends my previous research on patronage networks to trace the translation of social and political power and identity into activities such as collecting texts and commissioning works of art.

The first three chapters of my book are based on private letters, a selection from some thirty thousand in the archives of the Medici family correspondence between 1430 and 1470. These letters illuminate the world of Cosimo il Vecchio, who established the Medici family's preeminence in Florence. In the first chapter private letters are looked at as a genre: their function as the currency of patronage, their language and form, eloquent both socially and politically, and their content, as varied as the interests and activities of their authors. The second chapter focuses on Cosimo de' Medici's own letters, relatively neglected perhaps as much for their unremarkable commercial and diplomatic content as for the difficulty of Cosimo's hand. The language of his letters, however, expresses some essential values of the patrician patron, and reveals his practical usage of classical learning along with Christian precepts as tools for shaping and relating to the quotidian world.

The correspondence of Ser Alesso Pelli—a factotum in the Medici household—with the family and its friends throws oblique but revealing light on the Medici domestic unit and its close connections with associates in literary discussions, devotions, and diversions such as musical entertainments and hunting parties: these activities, among them Medici charitable enterprises including ecclesiastical building projects, are the subject of chapter three. The fourth chapter locates members of the Medici circle in the world of popular literature, where they are as much consumers and producers as patrons. I examine compilations of diversionary, devotional, and didactic literature prepared for Cosimo's sons by their protohumanist companions, and a poem in the favored form of impossible oppositions attributed to Cosimo de' Medici and addressed to his friend and ally, the Duke of Milan.

In the early months of my stay at the Center I laid down the design of the first four chapters, but most of my time was ultimately spent on the visual arts component of the book, taking advantage of this unique opportunity of access to a whole range of resources, some institutional and others more

informal. My project is a broad one, attempting to draw together areas of inquiry often pursued separately by historians of literature, politics, and society, as well as of art and architecture. The bibliography is large and wide-ranging. Owing to the strength of the National Gallery's own holdings in Renaissance art and architecture, I could work with what I needed beside me.

I learned most, however, from the other fellows and the ways in which they approached and viewed the objects of their own research. By the end of my fellowship tenure, I felt I had sufficient sense of the configuration and parameters of visual territory to complete the draft of my book, which is now in its final stages. While at the Gallery I came up with the proposal of a "patron's oeuvre," embodying the totality of his patronage projects at once social, political, and productive of what we call "works of art." Audience response to this proposal in my presentation at the Center consolidated my sense of the potential of this term, while alerting me to the exigent implications of its extension from artist to patron.

The chapter on the visual arts is now addressed essentially to the issue of the patron's creative contribution to the production of works of art as part of the process by which the patron defines and measures his identity in urban space and historical time. Departing from the Aristotelian generative metaphor widely employed to represent patrons as male progenitors and to represent artists, like females, as conceiving and bringing to birth, the ways are explored in which the oeuvres of patron and artist intersect in a framework of patronage relationships both social and artistic. Increasing awareness of the patron's initiative role in commissioning works of art or architecture has lately drawn more attention to the patron's interests and concerns as clues to the ultimate "significance" of the object. But while perceptions of the artist's expressive intentions in individual works have traditionally been shaped by consideration of his total oeuvre, the patron's contribution is often reduced to the specific circumstances leading to a particular commission.

My focus is on the patron; I attempt to reassemble him as the integrated subject of his own activity, rather than the object of academic attention fragmented by disciplines dealing separately with politics, literature, art, and religion and by anachronistic oppositions between public and private, secular and spiritual, individual and corporate. Viewed from the perspective of patrician self-definition in a patronage "oeuvre," Renaissance works of art are reducible neither to simple expressions of patrician power nor to oft-assumed compromises between artists's creativity and patron's taste. Our sense of the achievement of each is enriched by a fuller understanding of the complex processes of patronage shaping Renaissance art and society.

University of California, Riverside  
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1990-1991

*The Ivory Bookcovers of Queen Melisende's Psalter*

The study of Crusader art and architecture has progressed remarkably during the last three decades. Our knowledge of the minor objects, such as reliquaries, ecclesiastical paraphernalia, and profane luxury articles, however, has remained surprisingly poor. Inquiries into the skills and interests of the Crusader artists and their sponsors in this area, concerning the extent, quality, and sources of this kind of work, are almost nonexistent—despite the fact that the chef-d'oeuvre of Crusader minor art, the ivory bookcovers of Queen Melisende's Psalter, has been known to the scholarly community for a long time. The research carried out during my two-month stay at the Center contributed a great deal to the conclusions I had reached over the past several years in gathering material for a book on the Crusader minor arts. The bookcovers of Queen Melisende's Psalter will form the core and starting point for a reconstruction of this aspect of Crusader artistic activity. A first publication on the ivories, an article conceived at the Center, deals with the iconographic program of the royal bookcovers; it will appear in the forthcoming issue of the *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*.

The pair of ivories that served as bookcovers to the Psalter sponsored by Queen Melisende of Jerusalem, eldest daughter of King Baldwin II and spouse of Fulk V of Anjou, the fourth king of Jerusalem, are an exquisite work of art characterized by a unique iconographic concept, skillful carving techniques, and a lively miniature decorative style. The uniqueness of these ivories lies in their special blend of influences and in their message, which is centered on the royal institution of the Latin Kingdom. My primary concerns at the Center were to distinguish the various components of the bookcovers' iconography and style, to trace their history, to examine the significance of these elements in other contexts, and to define the common thread linking them in this original work.

The complex iconography of Queen Melisende's bookcovers brings four different subjects together in a coherent, compact composition. On the front cover appear (1) six scenes in medallions from King David's life and (2) between the medallions, the Virtues fighting the Vices according to Prudentius' *Psychomachia*. Two further subjects located on the back cover according to the same compositional scheme are (3) six Deeds of Mercy in medallions, each executed by the figure of an emperor and (4) fighting animals and birds filling the spaces between the medallions. The whole is enclosed on both covers by a frame decorated with populated (front) and foliate scrolls. As a result of the dense composition, the many geometrical patterns included (for example, on the straps which create the medallions and the frames and on the decoration of the frames), and the insertion of colorful stones variously shaped and sized, the ivories possess a jewellike, precious quality perfectly

consistent with their royal sponsorship. The association of these four themes in one work is unique, but the themes are by no means new in Christian iconography. Each has a more or less established history, which can be traced to long before the twelfth century, either in the West or in Byzantium. Moreover, the patterns of interrelationship between two or more of the motifs and the elements of composition on the bookcovers appear often from the twelfth century and earlier.

Another path followed during my stay in Washington was the search for supporting written evidence. Official imperial or kingly chronicles and documents provide us with the background to account for the most striking feature of the iconographic program of the Crusader bookcovers: the performer of the Deeds of Mercy is an emperor. Some official imperial documents and literary works, in both East and West, refer to the emperor in a terminology full of references to King David, the Virtues, and the Deeds of Mercy.

A study of Queen Melisende's bookcovers, like that of any other work of art, cannot be complete without a serious inquiry into the technique and style. An intensive study of original Byzantine, Western, and Islamic ivories from around the twelfth century and earlier was made possible in Washington at the Dumbarton Oaks collection, as well as during two short study trips to the Metropolitan Museum in New York. Comparative investigation showed that they are a blend of Western, Byzantine, and Islamic elements. The degree of unity and coherence achieved despite the composite character of the work indicates the high quality of the artists involved. The same is true for the iconography, which is also a compound of Eastern and Western traditions, contemporary as well as earlier. The unity of this complex work, iconographic, stylistic, and technical, derives from the unity of the message. The bookcovers of Queen Melisende's Psalter are a statement of Crusader royalty at a special time in the history of this institution. The selection of scenes represented, their intrinsic meaning, and the additional emphases achieved through the net of associative links between the different scenes and motifs gathered together on the ivories all define this statement clearly enough, and point to a fairly accurate date for the execution. The traditional dating of the bookcovers follows that of the manuscript, established on the basis of the calendar included in it within the span 1131 (Baldwin II's death, mentioned in the calendar) to 1143 (Fulk's death, not mentioned). The specific message of the bookcovers' iconography, together with their stylistic particularities, indicates a more precise dating, in the year 1136, at a turning point in the joint government and the marriage of Melisende and Fulk. Most of the parallels pertaining to the iconography and the style of the ivories corroborate this dating.

Hebrew University

Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1990

*The Representations of the Church Councils in Bethlehem:  
The Problem of Their Dating*

The early Christian basilica of the Nativity still contains considerable remains of representations of the seven ecumenical councils, on the south wall of the nave, and on the north wall, of six provincial councils. The most striking feature of these representations is the absence of human figures. This is remarkable from two points of view: first, because of the place occupied by the representations in the immediate context, that of the comprehensive decorative program of the Nativity church; and second, because of their place in the traditional chain of council representations.

The mosaic and painted decoration of the walls and columns of the Nativity basilica forms a coherent iconographic program centered on the *locus sanctus* and generated by its theological content. This program is composed mainly of figural scenes and motifs: (1) the feast cycle with scenes from Christ's and Mary's lives, in the triconchal eastern end of the basilica and in the *bema*; (2) full-length figures of angels, between the windows of the nave on both walls, pacing toward the east, the liturgical focus of the church; (3) the gallery of Christ's predecessors—half-figures identified by inscriptions—following the genealogies of Matthew 1:1–16 and Luke 3:23–38—depicted on the lowest portions of the south and north walls of the nave; (4) a Tree of Jesse representation on the entire western wall; (5) framed icons of standing saints, painted on the columns of the early basilica.

The nonfigural representations of the councils are indeed an absolute exception in the overall decoration of the church. Nevertheless, they form the spine of the whole body of decoration, from iconographical and theological points of view. The main purpose of the decorative program is to demonstrate the perfect balance between the two natures of Christ: the human, represented by scenes from his earthly life on the eastern pole of the basilica, and the divine, supported by the Tree of Jesse genealogy, on the western pole. The council depictions are the main theme of the decoration on the walls of the nave linking the two poles, the ecumenical councils on the south wall, the oldest regional synods on the north. The councils are represented by architectural structures separated by floral candelabra. The architectural structures frame Greek inscriptions with the dogmatic formulations of the respective councils concerning the two natures of Christ (only the last ecumenical council's text, now lost, was in Latin). This means that the wall decoration of the Bethlehem basilica offers, at the *locus sanctus* of the Incarnation itself, a concise visual translation of the official dogma of the church on one of the most basic problems of the Christian faith, as prepared in the six earliest local synods and formulated in the seven ecumenical councils.

The cleaning and photographic campaigns I recently undertook have made possible the establishment of a new basis for research, one depending on the evidence of the mosaics themselves. The first knowledge gained from the direct observation of the mosaics *in situ* was that the representations of both the ecumenical and regional councils were executed in the same period, the twelfth century. This led to a new point of departure for their iconographic and stylistic appreciation, that is, to a new set of unresolved questions. What, first of all, was the reason for executing a nonfigural cycle of council representations as part of an otherwise figural decorative program? The first step in answering this question is to circumscribe the Bethlehem representations' place in the iconographic tradition in Eastern and Western art.

Visual representations of the councils depend heavily on the content and character of the councils themselves, and on the historical and church-historical environment of the place and period in which they were made. The oldest representations of councils are known to us only through written sources. These belonged to a monumental imperial enterprise in the very heart of the Byzantine capital: the so-called Milion, painted by order of the monothelete emperor Phillipicus Bardanes (711–713) with representations of the first five ecumenical councils, the sixth (Constantinople, 680–681) being purposely avoided as essentially antimonothelete. The written source, a letter by the Constantinopolitan diacon Agathon in the year 714, explicitly states that the figures of the heretic emperor and his patriarch, Sergius, were added to the representation, which means that it was figural. In the year 713, under the orthodox emperor Anastasius, the portraits of the monothelete emperor and patriarch were obliterated, and the sixth council was added to the cycle. These circumstances show that already at the beginning of its history, council iconography played a key role in imperial political symbolism. The migration of this iconography to the West occurred also in ecclesiastical political circumstances, as part of Pope Constantine I's reaction against the Emperor Phillipicus; he confirmed the dogmatic and ecumenical character of the sixth council and ordered the depiction of the whole cycle in Saint Peter's Church (*Liber Pontificalis*: 1:391).

The later representations demonstrate the same tendency to bring the content, historical background, and message of early Christian assemblies up to date with events contemporary to the time of depiction. These representations usually show the emperor or the patriarch presiding over the assembly against the condemned heretics, an architectonic background, and accompanied by thrones, altars with open books, and explicative texts. This means that the mosaic representations of the councils in the Nativity basilica are exceptional in being nonfigural not only compared to the rest of the decoration, but also compared to all the other known representations of the councils, either as a cycle or illustrated separately, in miniature as well as in monumental art. The nonfigural representations in Bethlehem, however, are constructed with the aid of components from the traditional

depictions: the architectural frame, the altars bearing books, the huge *crux gemmata* in the middle of the north wall, in the center of the series of provincial synod representations.

Therefore, there can be no doubt that the authors of the decorative program, while well aware of the traditional ways of depicting church councils, must have had a special reason for avoiding figures. In traditional Byzantine council representations, the authoritative appearance of the emperor presiding over the respective council is usually an allusion to a ruler contemporary with the making of the representation and underlines his absolute power in an overt manner. Such a depiction in Bethlehem would have shattered the delicate balance achieved after the middle of the century between the emperor, the king of Jerusalem, and the bishop of Bethlehem, a balance that was one of the most essential preconditions for the execution of the entire decoration, and is attested in the *bema* inscription. Instead of an ambitious declaration of imperial power, which would have been offensive to the Latin king of Jerusalem and the Latin bishop of Bethlehem, the council representations appear in the Nativity church as the main thread of a Christological program, devoid of figures as of direct imperial connotations.

Tel Aviv University

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1990



Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot, *Ville d'Avray*, c. 1867–1870. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Gift of Count Cecil Pecci-Blunt

AMY KURLANDER

*The Later Career of Camille Corot:  
Landscape Painting and Its Public Contexts, 1850–1867*

My fellowship supported a year of research in Paris, where I studied archival material on Corot and the practice and reception of landscape painting in the 1850s and 1860s, as well as a year of residency at the Center, where I wrote substantial portions of the dissertation. My work examines how Corot's later practice, reception, and market strategies participated in the shaping of a modern public for landscape painting in mid-nineteenth-century France.

The dissertation aims to contribute to a larger project undertaken by a number of modernist art historians in recent years. These studies locate the beginnings of modern landscape within the historical formation of a set of specifically urban institutional and discursive contexts where the viewing of landscape painting, the countryside, and natural imagery played a central role. These contexts—the Parisian art market, the landscape criticism of the mass press, and several industries of leisure—are understood to circumscribe the public for landscape painting in the 1850s and 1860s as a peculiarly modern, leisure-seeking Parisian of the middle class.

My own work reconstructs a set of contexts where the public for landscape, and for Corot's later work in particular, emerges as a far more unstable and heterogeneous entity than has been suggested. My principal thesis is that the discursive and institutional structures of landscape painting at mid-century represented and produced a number of competing "publics" for landscape, both as actual viewing constituencies and as ideal beholders. Examining the context of early modern landscape, I suggest, is a project that should address the highly conflicted orders of interest and purpose that informed some of the most important landscape practices of this moment. Corot's success and influence among landscape painters and critics and in the market provide a useful focus for this type of inquiry.

In the first two chapters Corot is located within some central patterns of landscape criticism and popular and literary writing on landscape viewing. The theme is the fragile status of landscape as artistic genre within landscape discourse of the 1850s and 1860s. As landscape was then recognized as the leading genre of the French school, many writers were pressed to account for landscape's unprecedented artistic status, as well as its wide appeal for a growing public of viewers. It seems that these two developments were difficult to reconcile. While writers applauded the painters' capacity to simulate the sensuous effects of "nature" on canvas, they were far more critical in their assessment of the social and intellectual ramifications of landscape, and often connected the rise of landscape to a decline in aesthetic standards and

habits of viewing. This ambivalence seems to have played an important role in the critics' general response to landscape paintings, for landscape critics often expressed their judgments by invoking different types of viewer—Parisian promenaders, undifferentiated mass publics, and highly individuated beholders—and their presumed responses to a given painting and its view of nature. Some similar procedures seem to have been at work in the classification of Corot's diverse landscape practices. For while most of Corot's different types of landscapes were exhibited at the Salon and public sales rooms, writers often attempted to rank and distinguish these works by assigning them to distinct occasions, spaces, and subjects of viewing.

In the second chapter I investigate the degree to which the conflicted status of landscape seemed to inform the critics' pictorial descriptions of landscape painting. I discuss, for example, the critics' attempts to distinguish and privilege a discriminating viewer's apprehension of the signs of artistry in landscape painting—defined as a landscapist's "style"—over the signs of manual and technical production—which are defined as painterly facility. Critical estimations of Corot's so-called late manner as both a highly conventionalized practice and one that emphasizes the painter's touch occupied an important place in these discussions. While these aspects of Corot's late manner were often taken to exemplify artistic style in modern landscape, they appeared in negative assessments of Corot as evidence of Corot's "atelier de réproduction," or as effects of the overproduction and mass circulation of a given landscape formula.

The market for landscape painting in the 1850s and 1860s, the focus of the third chapter, is typically understood as a centralized, Parisian institution, dominated by the dealer system and geared toward a middle-class Parisian clientele. While Corot's financial success is now attributed to his activities in this type of market, a wide range of evidence reveals that Corot also maintained more traditional relations with clients as patrons, many of whom resided in the provinces, and that he directed his practice and marketing strategies toward an expansion and diversification of clientele. I examine the diversity of collectors who specialized in Corot's landscape, the extent to which certain types of work seem to have been preferred by collectors of specific social and professional classes, and the importance of several networks of provincial patronage for Corot's practice and the circulation of his work in the 1850s and 1860s.

The final chapters suggest ways of discussing the site specificity of Corot's outdoor and indoor practices. The question of landscape attesting both to a set of site-specific and Parisian coordinates is a central problem for landscape painting of this period, given the well-documented relationships between the rise of landscape and the expansion of Parisian industries and practices of leisure into the countryside. Corot's work and its reception focus this problem in a number of ways, as the site specificity of Corot's outdoor work was defined very differently by Parisian and local writers. At present

I am writing the fourth chapter, which treats Corot's landscapes of Ville d'Avray, Corot's second residence and the most important site of his later outdoor painting. Drawing on Corot's letters and notebooks, the municipal archives at Ville d'Avray, and touristic descriptions and images, I locate these landscapes within a set of conflicting, proprietary claims between local inhabitants and Parisian tourists, and between the municipality (where Corot served as council member) and the state administration. The challenge is to describe the ways in which Corot's representations of a highly disputed site are not only informed by a range of competing interests, but also establish their own complex position as landscape painting.

[Harvard University]  
Mary Davis Fellow, 1989–1991



Bohumil Kubišta, *The Kiss of Death*, 1911. Gallery Liberec

*Czech Cubism, 1910-1921: The Art-Historical Relations*

This project is intended as a survey of Czech cubism, a phenomenon which has not been studied in Western art history but which played an important role in the international movement of the early twentieth century. The Czech cubist movement began in 1911 in Prague with a society of artists, musicians, and writers called the Group of Fine Artists (Skupina výtvarných umělců). The members communicated their theories through the journal *Art Monthly* (*Umělecký měsíčník*, published from fall 1911 until spring 1914), which presented cubism as a part of the art-historical continuum that produced gothic, Renaissance, baroque, and nineteenth-century art.

I would like to specify the origin and evolution of Czech cubism in light of its aesthetic theory as well as the interpretation of individual works of art. I have chosen to emphasize the role of art theory in the Czech cubist milieu, because in contrast to German expressionists, Picasso, or Braque, most of the Czech cubists were theoreticians (Filla, Gutfreund, Kubišta, Janák, Hofman). The theory of Czech cubism was promulgated not only in essays or statements, but also in the deliberate selection of historical models and great masters. This selection is evident in the exhibitions of the cubist group Skupina, and in the articles of the journals *Umělecký měsíčník*, *Volné směry*, *Styl*, *Lumír*, *Přehled*, and others, and also by art historians V.V. Štech and V. Kramář. In *Umělecký měsíčník* as well as the other journals we find illustrations from all periods of art history, seeming at first glance inexplicable. There were photographs of French romanesque and gothic art; enamels from Limoges; sculpture by Donatello, Michelangelo, Rodin; paintings by Rembrandt, El Greco, Daumier, and Cézanne; Persian manuscripts; Chinese Buddhist sculpture; and Indian works of art. Knowing that the editors of *Umělecký měsíčník* were artists themselves (Čapek, Filla, Janák), we can say that the selection of reproductions in the journal was intentional. The juxtaposition of unrelated images as well as text suggested that cubism was the culmination of many styles. In this sense *Umělecký měsíčník* was a predecessor to the journal *Der Blaue Reiter*, first published in May 1912, which also reproduced a full range of art-historical exemplars. It was not by chance that the first issue of *Der Blaue Reiter* was announced in *Umělecký měsíčník*.

The desire to see cubism as a stylistic phenomenon comparable to gothic or baroque was also one of the reasons that cubists in Bohemia extended their activity beyond the field of painting, drawing, and sculpture, to architecture, applied arts, and furniture. During the years 1911 to 1914 more than ten cubist-designed houses were built in Prague and in the Bohemian countryside. The arts and crafts company Artěl, founded in 1908, included

the cubist designers Hofman, Janák, Špála, Stockar, Beneš, and others. Artěl produced a variety of decorative objects, toys, vases, tea and coffee sets, flacons, and many other objects considered to have commercial and artistic merit. The most interesting works made for Artěl were ceramics and china coffee sets, designed by Hofman and Janák. The design of these pieces is the very essence of cubism in applied arts.

One of the most innovative architects of Skupina was Pavel Janák who founded *Pražské umělecké dílny* (Prague Artistic Workshops) in 1912 in order to manufacture cubist furniture. From 1912 until 1916 Prague Artistic Workshops made in excess of a hundred pieces of high-quality cubist furniture including mirrors, chandeliers, lamps, and other household objects. The spread of the cubist aesthetic to applied arts, architecture, and furniture is unique to the Czech cubist movement and has no parallels either in Paris or in Germany before the war.

During my stay at the National Gallery of Art I had the opportunity to study contemporary cubist, expressionist, and early modernist literature and rare books. It was possible to travel in the United States to see comparable cubist works by Picasso, Braque, Gris, and other cubists. At the Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, I studied the archives of Czech cubist architect Vlastislav Hofman. In the Metropolitan Museum in New York I found several cubist drawings by Vincenc Beneš and Emil Filla. The goal of this fellowship was therefore twofold: to gain better knowledge of the literature and background of cubism for my project and to see rare Czech cubist material in the United States, which could be shown in an exhibition of Czech cubism planned for 1991-1992.

Institute of Art History, Prague  
Soros Visiting Senior Research Fellow, spring-summer 1991

*The Cloud Dwelling Monastery Near Peking and Its Stone Sutras*

The Cloud Dwelling Monastery (Yunjusi) near Peking owns a unique set of stone inscriptions of the Buddhist canon. These inscriptions were begun around A.D. 600 by a certain monk Jingwan who, like others in his day, believed that the end of the world was imminent. By engraving the sutras into stone Jingwan hoped that the holy texts might survive the apocalyptic catastrophes and be preserved for a future world. The project of engraving the sutras continued for six centuries. By the thirteenth century more than fifteen thousand stones had been completed. They are extant in the monastery today.

Throughout the centuries the engraving of the sutra stones was accompanied by the engraving of historical steles. More than a dozen of the historical steles still stand in the monastery today, and the text of several other lost steles is recorded in traditional literature. These steles relate in great detail the amazing story of the project. They speak of monks, donors, officials, and emperors who in one way or another were involved in the monastery's plight. We learn of the perceptions and beliefs that motivated them, and about the various means and difficulties of fund-raising.

At the Center for Advanced Study, I translated several of these historical inscriptions, studied related examples of Buddhist epigraphy and sculpture in the Freer and Sackler galleries, and wrote the first chapters of a book tracing the history of the monastery and its carving of sutras.

The major early monument in the Cloud Dwelling Monastery is the Cave of Thunderous Sound (Leiyindong). It was hewn into a rocky cliff and consecrated by the monastery's founder Jingwan in A.D. 616. It has a rectangular ground plan. Four stone pillars in the room form an inner sanctuary. Set into the walls are the first 146 of the 15,000 stone slabs with engraved texts.

The location of the cave and its architectural features reveal the apocalyptic fears of the builders. The cave is high on a mountain ridge, so that the floods would not reach it when they swept over the lands at the end of the world. The cave is sheltered by an overhanging cliff and secured by stone doors and windows so that the apocalyptic winds would not damage it. All the structural members are made of stone, copying wooden architecture, against the expected fire storms. Moreover, the cave is situated in a rather remote mountainous area and thus would not readily be affected by social and political turmoil. Indeed, neither the devastating Buddhist persecution of 844–845 nor the cultural revolution in the 1960s has done it any harm.

The Cave of Thunderous Sound is also the first Buddhist cave in east Asia with no sculptural or pictorial decoration on its walls. The walls are completely covered by engraved texts. One of my aims was to detect the



*Cave of Thunderous Sound*, A.D. 616. Photograph: Universität Heidelberg, Kunsthistorisches Institut

“iconographic program” in the selection and placement of these writings. Three kinds of texts can be discerned: sutras, precepts, and names of Buddhas. Among the sutras one finds some of the major representative scriptures of the time. The Vimalakirti Sutra, whose hero is a Buddhist layman, is engraved above the inside door lintel. The visitor sees it when leaving the holy cave. The sutra thus reminds laymen that they must lead pious lives even as they return to the profane world. In addition there are several apocryphal scriptures, written in sixth-century China. They are indicative examples of the Chinese transformation of Buddhism.

The precepts for the most part are engraved in the upper part of the rear wall. The visitor would see them on coming to pay obeisance and, possibly, to take vows. The precepts offer detailed instructions on how to progress on the proper path, in view of the irreversible deterioration of the world order and of the Buddhist faith.

The names of the Buddhas, finally, are listed in texts of repentance. The believers invoke many Buddhas and make them listen to their vows. The Buddhas also act as guarantors in preserving the sacred texts in the cave for eternity. The Cave of Thunderous Sound probably contains the largest series of engraved Buddha names in China. On the four pillars alone there are 1,056 different names, each accomplished by a small Buddha figure carved in relief. The iconographic program of the cave thus may be said to prepare the faithful ones for the end of the world.

After the completion of the Cave of Thunderous Sound, a change in plan took place in the project of sutra engraving. As the world did not come to the expected early end, the monks continued to carve more sutra texts, but they no longer set the stones into the walls of sacred chambers. They simply stored them in new rock caves next to the Cave of Thunderous Sound. Outside, inscriptions warn the visitor not to open these caves before the next world age has begun. Nine caves were completed over the next five centuries. An inventory made in A.D. 1058 listed 2,730 stones.

In A.D. 1094–1095 a renewed, concentrated effort resulted in the carving of another 4,080 stones. Standardization in the size of the stones and in the layout of the engraved texts made this remarkable achievement possible. A comparative analysis of the calligraphic styles of the engravings may in the future lead to a better understanding of how this mass production of stones was organized. Yet before I can embark on this chapter of my research, I first will have to return to China for further investigations on the site.

Universität Heidelberg, Kunsthistorisches Institut  
Paul Mellon Senior Fellow, 1990–1991



Martin and George of Kolozsvár, *Saint George*, 1373. National Gallery, Prague

*Observations on the Italian Connections of the Prague Saint George*

As a solitary and in many ways rather exceptional work of art, the nearly life-size bronze equestrian statue of Saint George in Prague Castle, now the National Gallery, by the sculptors Martin and George of Kolozsvár has been subject to a series of misinterpretations both in terms of the formal problems of the Renaissance equestrian monument and of locating it in different schools according to superficial phenomena such as armor or compositional motifs. All information about the brothers' life and work is based on sixteenth- to eighteenth-century copies of now-effaced inscriptions on their works originally dating from about 1370 to 1390 in Várad and 1373 for the Prague statue. The Hungarian scholar Jolán Balogh brought the Prague statue to scholarly attention in 1934 with his comparison of the head of Saint George and the side view of the head of the bronze Archangel Saint Michael on the west façade of Orvieto Cathedral. I came to the Center in the hope that I would be able to reexamine this hypothesis. It became clear that the relationship of the Prague statue with Orvieto did not lead, as expected, to Lorenzo Maitani's time (he died in 1330) but to 1356, when the bronze figure of Saint Michael on the top of the north portal gable of the west façade was cast by Master Matteo di Ugolino da Bologna.

As Master Matteo's activity is documented only in bell casting and ironwork in and outside of Orvieto, he seems to be responsible only for the technical execution of the figure in question. At this time a number of artists were working on the cathedral, the most important being Andrea Pisano, his son Nino (1345–1349), and Andrea Orcagna (from 1356). In addition to the occasional presence of the great masters, mainly Siennese architects and sculptors were active in the Orvieto Cathedral workshop during the fourteenth century. Based on observations concerning the style and face type of the Saint Michael, I believe that the model for Master Matteo's casting was created by an unknown local artist—Tuscan or Umbrian—who worked about the mid-fourteenth century under the strong influence of the Pisani workshop and in close relation to Nino Pisano.

The artist may have accepted a new iconographic type of armored archangel, which seems to have been introduced in Tuscan art by the Pisa Camposanto frescoes of Francesco Traini, probably in the late 1320s. So the question of the origin of the Orvieto Saint Michael figure seems to be closely linked to one of the most discussed scholarly problems of trecento art, that of the authorship of the Camposanto Last Judgment and Triumph of Death cycles and the origin of their artistry.

The origin of this specific, highly decorated type of traditional armor of late antiquity seems to recall early humanistic tendencies in northern Italy, which in turn derive from paleological Byzantine art, since these types occur

both in Bolognese illuminated manuscripts of the first half of the trecento and in Venice. A close parallel to the Orvieto Saint Michael, in attitude and armor, can be found on a parchment leaf containing model drawings for silk weaving and needlework in the Berlin Graphic Collection, dated about 1380. The specifically Venetian iconographic type of this drawing seems to echo the classicizing tendencies of the time of Doge Andrea Dandolo, when the Baptistery mosaics of San Marco and the paintings by Paolo Veneziano were made. Major landmarks in the history of this iconographic type are represented by the paintings of Guariento with the angel choirs for the Carrara Chapel in Padua about 1354 to 1355, and by the triptych for the Ducal Palace signed and dated as late as 1421 by Jacobello del Fiore. The role played by the north Italian tradition in the formation of the figure type adapted by the brothers of Kolozsvár for their Prague statue is not clear so far; but the close imitation both in Orvieto and Prague of certain features of archangels' hair fashion found in Byzantine iconography warrants further investigation.

Immediate models for the brothers' art existed in Orvieto in the late 1350s, which may correspond to their first period of activity in Hungary. The Orvieto workshop could have been important for expertise in casting large-scale bronze figures as well.

As to the technical side of the masters' art, modern metallurgical and chemical investigations do not make comparison of medieval bronzes possible for purposes of attribution or dating. Given the fact that the brothers of Kolozsvár used a lost-wax technique based on direct modeling on a core, they must have had access to some Italian workshops where this technique of ancient statuary was in use. Casting with an open mold, as in the case of bell casting which was widespread in the Middle Ages, was the traditional practice at this time. The latter technique was used by an artisan named Rosso in 1277–1278 in casting parts of the Fontana Maggiore in Perugia and later a bronze portal lintel for Orvieto Cathedral. Metallurgical investigations indicate that the bronze statue of Saint Peter in San Pietro, Rome, also represents this technique. A finer, direct lost-wax founding is seen on a bronze piece with lions and griffins once atop the Perugia fountain, later moved to the façade of the Palazzo dei Priori of the same city.

The tradition of bronze sculpture in Orvieto could have been transmitted to Martin and George of Kolozsvár by the master of the Saint Michael figure. Based on this contact with Italian art they created a peculiar central European synthesis. One specific feature of their style is perhaps reflected in the dominating narrative character of their Prague statue. My hypothesis that this statue was originally designed for a display on a fountain can only be proved by further research in central European archives.

Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Art History  
Paul Mellon Senior Visiting Fellow, summer 1991

*Problems of Silverware in the Crusader Period*

Cultural relations between the Islamic East and the Latin West during the period of the Crusades (A.D. 1098–1291) were complicated, for in addition to these two main forces, there were also Greeks, Syrians, Armenians, and Jews in Syria and Palestine. The local Christian population was linked with Western newcomers and Muslims. Every group had its own cultural heritage. Other difficulties in research concern the specific characteristics of the materials under study, which included primarily silver vessels and personal ornaments that were made for laymen and bore no inscriptions. They are now in several museums and church treasuries around the world, and their *outré-mer* origin must be explained. Their attribution is not easy because many silver objects with mixed Western and Islamic features were undoubtedly produced along the frontier between two worlds; this includes not only Syria and Palestine, but also Armenian Cilicia, Cyprus, south Italy, Sicily, and Spain.

Several years ago I wrote about possible Crusader metalwork in my book *Silberschätze des Orients* (Leipzig, 1986), in an attempt to classify several groups of silver objects, most of which were incised with niello. I included in my classification some western European Romanesque vessels and Persian or central Asian examples of the eleventh century. There was no direct relation between those two large groups. Previously uncertain objects, however, were related to both groups. It was possible to arrange a kind of “network” in which every object has some common features with more Western, or more Islamic, or more Byzantine, or more Armenian examples.

The silver church model, now in Aachen, made in A.D. 969 for a Byzantine governor of reconquered Antioch may be claimed as the earliest example of niello ornament with *vermiculé* pattern. In its décor there are recognizable elements of classic foliage and Islamic arabesque. According to its Kufic inscription, the Iranian silver bowl now in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art belonged to a mother of the last Ziyarid ruler of Gurgan (before 1049). It demonstrates another variance of niello design with reserved foliate on the *vermiculé* background. A reliquary casket from Sancta Sanctorum in the Vatican Museums has very elaborate niello ornamentation more of Iranian than tenth-century Antiochean type. But on its lid are three medallions with the Deesis composition: Jesus Christ between Saint Peter and Saint John the Baptist. The presence of Saint Peter instead of the Virgin is very unusual. A similar change can be seen also in Venice in one of the San Marco mosaics where there is a Deesis with Saint Mark (the local patron) depicted instead of Saint John. The casket could have been commissioned by Crusaders and executed by a Syrian craftsman familiar with niello technique and fashionable Iranian ornamental style, which was widespread after the Seljuk expansion in the last third of the eleventh century. Uncontestable

elements of this niello style can be seen also on the famous Roger of Helmarshausen's portable altar in Paderborn (early twelfth century). If one does not study the figural depiction, it seems that these Persian bowls, Antiochean casket, and Lower Saxonian altar have nothing in common. However, in this continuum we can see a kind of partial appropriation. Artists imitated pure *décor* in order to enrich their works without borrowing the ideologically important images. In Germany these traces of Seljuk ornament disappeared very soon. Although other objects made by artisans from Roger's school bear ornamentation that resembles their teacher's designs, the pupils had no direct contact with oriental models.

The genealogical tree of niello *vermiculé* ornamentation had several interconnected branches during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The Vatican casket has a near but younger relative to an incensory or an icon lamp from the hoard found in Resafa by the German archaeological expedition and recently published by T. Ulbert in *Der kreuzfahrerzeitliche Silberschatz aus Resafa-Sergiupolis* (Mainz am Rhein, 1990). The hoard was hidden just before the Mongol invasion (1243 or 1258), but some objects could be earlier. The incensory has nielloed ornamental fields interrupted with relief medallions. The foliate ornaments are almost the same as on the Vatican casket, reaffirming the Syrian origin of the latter. The incensory has many ties with other objects adorned with only niello ornaments or with flat niello and relief *repoussé* *décor* together. Among them there are a chalice of the Western shape with Syrian and Greek inscriptions from the same hoard, two excellent vases with King David playing his psaltery, now in Leningrad and Kiev, and the casket now in Crakow with the incorrect but legible kufic inscription on *vermiculé* nielloed background and several scenes done in relief. Each piece has its particular position within the classifying network. Notwithstanding their various ties, which are strong enough, the objects are sufficiently different. Reliefs on the casket, obviously Romanesque, are executed by a Westerner, perhaps an Italian. The platter (now in Leningrad) and the bowl (now in Kiev) have similar reliefs but no niello. All three can be attributed to Westerners who worked in Syria in the twelfth century. Two vases are almost identical. Their rich imagery is mostly royal. Their workmanship is oriental with a good understanding of Islamic motives. But silversmiths also knew traditions of Byzantium and western Europe. J. Orbeli's idea about Cilician origin of one of them seems to be quite right. Most probably, both vases were made about 1200 when the Armenian principality in Cilicia became a kingdom. His attribution can be supported with chains of analogies leading through several uncertain links (probably northern Syria, Edessa, Djezira, Rum) to Iran, Byzantium, and the Golden Horde. At the same time these vases and vessels from neighboring lands, among them some stem bowls with lids, all resemble Western (French, English, or Rhein and Mass) objects. Their imagery is quite different, but many of their shapes and ornaments are of mutual origin. Now it is difficult

to place Western or Eastern samples of a certain shape as earlier. The Eastern source of ornaments is more evident. The second half of the twelfth century was a turning point in the development of Western toreutics, and the *outrémer* impact was quite strong at that period. I can mention only two caskets of the second half of the thirteenth century (in Trier and Venice) that possibly were made in Crusader Syria. Their ties with contemporary art of Cilicia, Rum, and Iran as well as with Western art are evident.

The classification of a large group of bracelets should provide a good parallel to the study of the vessels. It is possible to trace step by step how their décor changed. The “anchors” for classification were a central Asian bracelet of the eleventh century and a Moorish bracelet from Spain of the first half of the twelfth century. There are also samples of more Byzantine and more Romanesque style. Although my work is not finished, I believe it is already possible to say that the arts of luxury created their own bridges between civilizations and that one such bridge, connecting East and West, was built in northern Syria and Cilicia during the Crusader period.

State Hermitage Museum

Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1991



Marco Boschini, *Putto Seated on Clouds*, mid-seventeenth century. Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice

MITCHELL F. MERLING

*Marco Boschini's La carta del navegar pitoresco: Art Theory and Virtuoso Culture in Seventeenth-Century Venice*

While in residence at the Center during the past academic year, I completed and submitted my dissertation. In it the biography, writings, and artistic works of Marco Boschini are examined. Boschini is best known as the author of the long poem in Venetian dialect, *La carta del navegar pitoresco*. This important document traditionally has been interpreted as providing a rationale for the sensualism and colorism considered as defining qualities of both Venetian sixteenth-century and European baroque painting. By considering Boschini's position historically I contradict this view. The dissertation is thus an attempt to write a history of aesthetics neither generated by the teleology of modernism (that is, Boschini providing a rationale for modern formalism) nor by false dichotomies (that is, Venetian *colore* versus central Italian *disegno*).

Accordingly, I begin with a reconsideration of Boschini's biography, which is seen as providing some clues to the original address and purpose of the *Carta*. Boschini's activities as painter, printmaker, and cartographer (with an annotated checklist of his works in these media) are analyzed, as is the patronage of these works, revealing that Boschini was exceptionally close to those circles that controlled the political and cultural programs of the Venetian nobility. I next consider Boschini's activity as an art merchant and his production of encomiastic verse for patrons outside of Venice. Boschini's activity as a *virtuoso* and his contacts with the most important European collectors (Leopold Wilhelm and Leopoldo de' Medici, among others) provide the basis for the philosophy of collecting expounded in the *Carta*.

Though the *Carta* is often considered merely a sales catalogue of Venetian Renaissance painting directed to foreign patrons, Boschini is rather concerned to demonstrate the value of the collecting of modern masters as an expression of *virtù* to Venetian aristocrats.

The final chapters of the first part demonstrate how the ideal of civil conversation propounded by the literary academics and how the production of dialect verse as aristocratic recreation both influenced some of the *Carta's* literary qualities.

The second part of my study more exclusively concerns the theoretical and historical import of the *Carta*. Following consideration of the literary organization and the textual sources of the poem, Boschini's philosophical aesthetics are examined in detail. It is found that Boschini does not privilege *colore* over *disegno* and *invenzione*. Rather he aligns himself more with classicizing aesthetics, derived from his knowledge of Bolognese and Roman sources.

Boschini thus contradicts Vasari's disparaging view of Venetian painting by upholding Giorgione, Titian, and their followers as painters whose works appeal to the mind and the emotions, as well as to the eye, through their mastery of the parts of painting.

In keeping with his desire to prove the value of *virtuoso* patronage to the Venetian aristocrats, Boschini praises the works of seventeenth-century Venetian painters such as Pietro Liberi and Pietro della Vecchia, whom he believes to be worthy successors to cinquecento masters. Finally, I contradict the usual view that Boschini celebrates the Venetian origins of the painterly baroque style in artists such as Rubens and Pietro da Cortona. The equal, if not greater, emphasis Boschini gives to the nonpainterly styles of the Carracci and their school demonstrates that, for Boschini, Venetian style consists much less in the superficial appearance of brushwork than it does in judicious imitation.

[Brown University]

Samuel H. Kress Predoctoral Fellow, 1989–1991

*Techniques of Greek Marble Sculpture*

Research into marble carving techniques in ancient Greece has always been divided into “Greek” and “Roman” phases, separated by an alleged great divide of copying methods. Whereas the Greeks were credited with the creation of unique masterpieces, the Romans were supposed to have invented mechanical means of copying that allowed them to reproduce Greek originals for wider distribution. In addition, Roman carving techniques were thought to be cursory and rapid because of their extensive use of drilling.

In undertaking to study carving techniques in both the Greek and Roman periods on the Greek mainland, I have come to realize that there is in fact very little technical difference between the two periods. Greek marble sculptors of the Roman period were working in an established tradition without a visible break until the end of antiquity. The same tools were available throughout, and their multiple uses were always known though not always employed. Drilling was in fact widespread since the earlier periods, reaching its peak in the time of the Parthenon. Fairly accurate means of copying were available to the Greeks since the Classical period.

Building accounts of the Classical period in Greece document the use of plaster models for architectural members such as capitals and moldings, which were reproduced on the stone by mechanical means. By inference,



Unfinished marble statue of funerary sphinx from Rheneia, first century B.C. National Museum, Athens

life-sized models cast in plaster can be postulated for the creation of complicated marble statuary such as the pedimental sculptures of the Parthenon. This hypothesis implies the operation of workshops run by a master who provided the preliminary designs, models, or both, to be executed by marble carvers. Marble carving workshops on building sites are documented by the building accounts of the Parthenon in the fifth century B.C. and in the temple of Asklepios at Epidauros about half a century later, though we have no details either of their organization or their operation. We know the names of journeymen (some of them slaves), hired ad hoc by the Athenian state to carve individual figures of the Erechtheion frieze at the end of the fifth century B.C. The stylistic uniformity of the extant figures, each carved of a separate block, indicates that these men were copying a master's models.

The possibility of reproducing preliminary models onto stone raises the question of the production of multiple originals, for which there is scant evidence though they are documented in bronze statuary. It also raises a question of value judgments. Did Greek sculptors, supposedly superior to the Romans for the uniqueness of their works, create multiple originals like their nineteenth-century counterparts?

Based on the assumptions that marble dictates its own rules and that it is possible to guess at the methods of carving by the appearance of the finished work, I have tried to consider Greek sculptural techniques in relation to the practice of marble carvers in the Renaissance and later periods in European art before the introduction of power drills. During my brief stay at the Center for Advanced Study I concentrated on two problems. First, the question of the introduction of the pointing machine in antiquity. By comparing unfinished sculpture of the first century B.C. and later with unfinished sculpture of the nineteenth century, it is possible to make a case for the use of an early form of pointing machine. This need not have restricted ancient sculptors to purely mechanical reproduction as is usually assumed, for the extension of its use is purely a matter of choice.

The second problem I investigated was the introduction of certain tools such as the boucharde and the claw chisel. The boucharde was long thought not to have been known to the Greeks, while the claw chisel was supposedly invented by them in the sixth century B.C. for the sole purpose of cutting marble. There are, however, traces of the boucharde on Greek works of the sixth century B.C. and of the claw chisel on limestone sculpture from Egypt of the seventh century B.C. It can be argued, therefore, that the Greeks borrowed the claw chisel from the Egyptians though they adapted it to marble working, for there are no marks of it on limestone sculpture from Greece.

Athens University

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1991

*The Interpretation of Greek Vases*

Of the mass of archaeological material that three centuries of collecting and excavation have produced, the painted vases of the Archaic and Classical periods represent a particularly promising body of evidence for the study of ancient Greek culture. They are a mine of imagery, with thousands of figural representations across a spectrum of subjects so broad that it has been rightly compared to that of the Japanese prints of the Floating World. We know a great deal about the vases as artifacts: where they were made, when, how, and, for some classes, by whom; formal changes through time have been carefully charted. The problems come when such factual grounds have to be abandoned to engage in interpretation, as any attempt to describe a picture forces us to do. Traditional ways of understanding these representations by tracing the development of a given subject according to chronology and painters, by linking it to literary sources and to historical events, are inadequate means to cope with the richness of the imagery and the vernacular level of its expression. For the past two years my research has focused on method, examining in particular the possibilities for interpretation offered by the model of structural linguistics and by semiotic theory, as well as the criticism to which structuralism has been subjected in more recent theories of discourse. It was my intention to write a monograph entirely devoted to methods of visual analysis, but that plan was significantly modified halfway through the work. This was because rather than treating disparate subject matter, I used as a kind of laboratory images that have a common denominator—women, in particular the images of women working wool on Attic vases of the fifth century B.C.; the representation of femininity became an important second concern in my research. As a result, the book which has taken shape in the course of the past year contains parts that are primarily devoted to methodological issues and others where the focus is on the construction of gender.

The specific questions of method explored were two: How can a meaningful figure, or unit of visual representation, be identified by a modern viewer, who is placed outside the culture that produced the image? Second, how are images constructed? My conclusion was that the visual unit should be defined not—to use the analogy with language as a shorthand—as a sign, but as a syntagm, an instance of discourse; to the modern interpreter, it becomes recognizable as a meaningful figure when it appears in isolation, that is, when it is the only image on the surface of the vase. Grouped with other figures, the representations of females working wool aligned themselves in a limited number of scenes, and these contexts, in turn, fell within a coherent and discernible discourse, one that concerns the requisites and behavior of the marriageable girl.



*Apollo and Muse*, 460–450 B.C. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

The research done at the Center carried the work further in the directions of both method and gender. Where the first is concerned, the most rewarding part was to be able to advance a hypothesis concerning the role of metaphor in the construction of visual images. My point of departure was the observation that a particular figure which is nearly ubiquitous on fifth-century vases, the mantle that envelops the wearer like a cocoon, corresponded to the verbal imagery applied to a particular word: *aidos*, variously translated as the context demands as “shame,” “modesty,” “honor,” and “dishonor.” When this insight was turned back onto the written texts, specifically passages in which the precise meaning of the word was obscure, the mantle appeared as the vehicle of metaphors where it is the sign not of a person who has *aidos*, but of *aidos* itself. To give just one example, in the description of the

marriage of Apollo and the nymph Cyrene in Pindar's ninth Pythian ode, Aphrodite "cast lovely *aidos* on their sweet marriage bed." The phrase describes a gesture that must be visualized, and the image comes into focus if the metaphor "*aidos* is a mantle" is projected on the text. The cloak is the bedcover, here as in many other places in Greek literature: in epic poetry the guest's bed is prepared by laying a cloak over it; to lie with a man under the same mantle means to sleep with him, as Helen with Menelaus (Theocritus 18, 19–20). What Aphrodite does is to cover the newlyweds. The question then presented itself: Is the play of metaphor confined to language, or is it at work in the making of the images? To look into this matter involved studying theories of metaphor, focusing in particular on the definition of the trope as "interaction," a theory that has largely replaced the classical, "substitution" view in the work of philosophers and linguists in the past fifty years. Here I found myself on unfamiliar and difficult ground where the comments and advice I received from other members of the Center, particularly John Tagg and Mark Turner, of the University of Maryland, were greatly helpful. In the end, I felt able to put forward a proposal in general terms, that visual images, like words, are projections of thought, and that metaphor is a point at which the two systems of representation—the verbal and the visual—intersect.

The proposal that images are the vehicle of metaphors was expanded in subsequent chapters devoted to the imagery of transitions for males and females. The representation of femininity proposed by the pictures of wool-working girls had led me to examine its corresponding opposite, the adolescent male. I began with the literary sources concerning rites of initiations in Cretan, Athenian, and Spartan society. Myths and rituals can be seen to articulate a metaphor in which the acquisition of manhood is cast as a change of sex: the legends include tales of transsexualism—from male to female; in the custom of pederasty the boys are seen as other-than-men; the rituals by which they become men involve transvestism followed by disrobing and the exhibition of the nude body. It was possible, on this basis, to establish a connection between nudity and the acquisition of manhood, such that it explains the peculiarly Greek heroic or idealized male nude, beginning with the Archaic statues of the *kouroi*.

The question of female initiations brought me back to the paintings: the cornerstone of the currently accepted hypothesis, that there existed rituals for girls paralleling those of the males, is constituted by a class of vases (the Brauron *krateriskoi*) that shows races and dances of girls of various ages, both clothed and nude. An analysis following the method tested on the spinners reveals that these images illustrate the foundation legend of the festival in which the vases were used, that they refer not to reality but to the fictional past of proto-Athens. There is, in the end, nothing to suggest that females ever truly came of age. The analogy of marriage with male initiations, which the ancient sources propose and modern scholarship has

largely accepted, conceals the fact that marriage in ancient Greece is more a rite of separation than one of reincorporation, which is why it makes such an apt metaphor for death.

Bryn Mawr College

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1990–1991, and Distinguished Professor in the History of Art, George Washington University

*Realist Painting and Its Public Perception*

My work at the Center was part of a book-length study in progress concerning the public perception of mid-nineteenth-century realist painting and the popular level of response to visual imagery. I regard the issue of the relationship between the painting and the public as a matter of great importance. In traditional art history this problem has been examined mainly on the level of "fortune critique." Such studies were written in great abundance, but what they represent is mostly a chronicle of successes and failures of works of art and artists, not a perception as such. While at the Center I tried to establish the methodological basis for my investigation. My argument owes much to literary history, specifically to audience-oriented criticism. This issue is part of a larger problem of looking beyond art history for new perspectives and, more particularly, to the applicability of literary critical methodology to the analysis of the visual arts.

There are several approaches that can provide a stronger theoretical foundation for the study of public perception. In my work I try to balance the phenomenological approach—focused on aesthetic perception, the role of imagination, and the construction of meaning—with a historical approach to the public at a particular time, in a given social and cultural context.

According to phenomenological theory, every work of art is left incomplete and involves "places of indeterminacy" which are aids to perception, or "constitutive blanks" to be filled in by the "implied perceptor." The act of perception (or "realization," a term proposed by the Polish philosopher Roman Ingarden) is defined as a sense-making activity, consisting of the complementary activities of selection and modification of expectations.

Applying the concept of historical study, I try to reconstruct the perception of the general public visiting exhibitions of painting in the mid-nineteenth century. I have chosen realist work of that period (realist in a broad sense not limited to Courbet and French realists), commonly considered "art for the public," addressed not to connoisseurs but to an undefined audience. For two reasons this area seems especially appropriate for study. First, realist painting produces images to be read in a specific way, never intending to mislead as, for example, symbolist painting does. The readability of realistic images depends on redundancies, extrapictorial knowledge of the things represented, and habitual expectations on the part of the beholder. In addition, exhibitions of mid-nineteenth-century art (particularly the Parisian salons) offered sufficient documentation to undertake a study of public response.

Public response is difficult to follow and reconstruct, for this "silent majority" leaves few traces of its reactions. Nevertheless scrutiny of various sources—journalistic reports, guest books of exhibitions, public behavior

as described by art critics—reveals a spectrum of reactions permitting reconstruction of several “modes of perception.” Some of those recognized in literary history are mimetic, allegoric, symbolic, expressive, and aesthetic. The first, my great interest, concerns the public’s belief in represented reality. The capacity of painting to affect a viewer’s beliefs belongs to a tradition of aesthetic and critical response to the power of the illusion in the arts in general. At a given historical moment, this problem seems to reach its climax. Several documents testify to the viewer’s self-abandonment, self-forgetfulness, toward pictures. In the process of perception the line dividing reality and representation, life and art, disappears. The public is not like doves seduced by Zeuxis’ grapes but is affected by “aids” guiding their perception. In my study I analyze these “aids” and define several “places of indeterminacy,” such as “the fruitful moment,” “provoking implications and presumptions,” “the suspenseful narrative structure,” and finally, points of view that absorb viewers into the painting—making the viewers themselves bring the image to life.

My fellowship included two months in residence at the Center for Advanced Study and two months of travel across the United States to visit museums, collections, and institutions. The main purpose of my travel was to visit several art history departments at American universities to study academic curricula and educational programs.

University of Warsaw, Institute of the History of Art  
Soros Visiting Senior Research Fellow, summer 1990

#### D. FAIRCHILD RUGGLES

##### *Madīnat al-Zahrā's Constructed Landscape: A Case Study in Islamic Garden and Architectural History*

My dissertation, completed last spring, concerns the formation of the medieval Hispano-Islamic landscape and the effects that profound changes in the organization of landscape and the emulation of Eastern political and cultural models had on Madīnat al-Zahrā'. I argue that a language of landscape developed in tenth-century al-Andalus (Spain), which articulated a system of values by means of a set of visually organized objects. The set of objects was the garden, and its intended viewer was the caliph and, secondarily, his court. In addition to questions of aesthetics and visual reception, the study merges architectural with environmental history. The integration of these two fields, with their distinct approaches, distinguishes this study of landscape from previous studies in Islamic garden history.

Traditionally, the assumption that the Islamic garden was an earthly reflection of paradise has prevailed. Yet the only piece of evidence that I have found linking Hispano-Islamic palace gardens with the afterlife is from an eleventh-century tomb garden; thus, there is nothing to indicate that the gardens of Madīnat al-Zahrā' or of any of its tenth-century palatine Cordoban contemporaries had an explicit paradisiac dimension. The gardens at Madīnat al-Zahrā' did not hold significant religious meaning, and piety was not the motive for their foundation. To the contrary, the activities that transpired in them on public occasions were performances of the political structuring of power and authority in the caliphal court, and on private occasions, intemperate and licentious entertainments. This is not to say that all gardens were devoid of paradisiac meaning, but that the theme of paradise did not enter the chronology of Hispano-Islamic garden iconography until after the devastating civil war of 1009–1010, and then it was developed within the context of a tomb complex.

The dissertation concerns not merely the formation of a specific garden in one time and place, nor the formation of a type of garden in a given period by a dynasty of patrons. Rather, the entire landscape is examined, its use to the society that lived in it, and their perceptions of it. As landscape and nature are dynamic organisms, changing from year to year and developing over time, I studied changes in the interactions of human society and landscape, focusing on critical moments in which these changes touched on the built environment of architecture and gardens.

In the tenth century, the Umayyad kingdom of al-Andalus reaped the benefits of agricultural improvements of two previous centuries. Since the economy of the medieval world, both European and Islamic, was almost entirely based on agricultural production and the trade of its products, agricultural developments profoundly affected the economy of al-Andalus.

The importation of new cultivars and the intensified application of extant agricultural techniques catalyzed a cyclical process of agricultural surpluses, prosperous urban markets, and capital investment in farms, which in turn contributed to greater yields. The two factors of agricultural transformation and economic development reverberated within the consciousness of Andalusian society, affecting the way landscape was used and perceived. The value placed on these developments was articulated by a language of landscape symbols that became a powerful iconographic system. The vehicle of landscape imagery was the garden; the relationship of the garden to landscape was analogous to that of a painting and its subject matter.

A landscape may be a subject of representation, or, as is the case with gardens and landscape architecture, it may be both subject and medium. The symbolism and form of gardens often have been regarded as parallel to either painted or written representations of gardens, yet the garden poses its own methodological considerations, foremost of which is the fact that the language of the garden is the landscape itself. It is not translated into descriptive media. Rather, the garden is a constructed microcosm of the landscape and is thus both landscape as well as an image or model of landscape. Therefore, any changes in the physical land must be examined for their effect on the garden, since an elemental change in vocabulary is implied. A change in vocabulary also affects the construction and organization of the garden, which in turn must affect the interpretation of the garden's social meaning.

For information regarding the changes in the land of al-Andalus, I relied on a textual foundation of Arabic agricultural manuals, plant lists, histories, geographies, and poetry. Individual chapters are devoted to the typological sources for al-Zahrā's architecture and gardens, the palace's orientation to landscape, visual and hydraulic exploitation of hillside location, and deliberate manipulation of vistas via miradors and viewing platforms, as well as the question of the meaning of a panoramic view of landscape in the medieval Islamic world and the person for whom the view was intended. In the last two chapters I discuss the persistence of Madīnat al-Zahrā', even after its destruction in the eleventh century, as the architectural model for subsequent palaces in Spain and the Maghreb and as a nostalgic symbol of the gradual loss of al-Andalus to the Christian conquerors.

Additionally, during my year of residence at the Center, I researched Spanish *mudéjar* architecture for a paper presented at this year's meeting of the College Art Association. Meanwhile, the war with Iraq began during our term here. Provoked by these events, and with the encouragement of several fellows and deans of the Center, I have organized a session for the 1992 College Art Association, "The Destruction of Cultural Property."

[University of Pennsylvania]  
Ittleson Fellow, 1989–1991

*Grünwald-Studien*

Mathis, der Maler des Altarwerks von Isenheim, ist bereits seit einiger Zeit mit Mathis Gothart identifiziert worden. Die zweite für den Künstler überlieferte Namensform, Neidhart, deutet auf eine selbst vorgenommene Namensbesserung hin. Der Fund der Bibel aus dem Besitz des Hans Plock im Märkischen Museum Berlin im Jahre 1953 hat die früheren Zweifel an der Gleichsetzung von "Grünwald" mit Mathis Gothart entkräftet (siehe Werner Timms Beitrag, *Forschungen und Berichte*, 1. Band, 105–121 [Berlin, 1957]). Die Bibel enthielt drei Zeichnungen des Malers; eine vierte, die bereits früher in das Berliner Kupferstichkabinett gelangt war, gehörte ursprünglich dazu. Der Seidensticker Hans Plock gehört zu den drei Bürgern der Stadt Halle, die am 1. September 1528 den Tod des Mathis Gothart bezeugten. Plock ist damit der wichtigste Zeuge für die Namensform Gothart, unter der die Zeichnungen und Gemälde des Künstlers genannt werden müssen.

Die Bibel des Hans Plock ist voller Aufzeichnungen; allein 1018 Eintragungen begleiten den Bibeltext. Die reiche Ausstattung der Stiftskirche in Halle an der Saale durch Kardinal Albrecht von Brandenburg wird zwar erwähnt, die beteiligten Künstler (unter ihnen Cranach und Gothart) werden aber nicht genannt. Als Parteigänger der Reformation interessierten Plock zum Zeitpunkt seiner Aufzeichnungen, hauptsächlich nach 1547 bis 1562 und in den Jahren bis zu seinem Tode im Jahre 1570, mehr die historischen Vorgänge. Dem Konzil von Konstanz, 1414–1419, der Mainzer Stiftsfehde von 1462, dem Erlebnis der Wallfahrtsorte Einsiedeln (1516), Trier und Aachen in den Jahren des Beginns von Luthers Reformation, dem Abschluss der Augsburger Konfession im Jahr 1532, dem Ausgang des Schmalkaldischen Krieges 1547 und der Kaiserkrönung Maximilians II. im Jahre 1562 sind Eintragungen gewidmet. Unter Schongauers Kupferstich des Marientodes, der sich im zweiten Band vorgeheftet befindet, ist das Verhältnis Dürers zu Schongauer notiert. Plock überliefert, dass die Kosten für das Hallische Heiltum, das der Kardinal seit 1518 nur für reichlich zweiundzwanzig Jahre in seiner Residenz Halle zusammenziehen konnte, 900 000 Gulden betragen; eine Mitra, die er selbst gefertigt hatte, kostete über 100 000 Gulden. Plocks eigene Haltung zu den historischen Vorgängen ist aufmerksam und kritisch. Es ist eine Freude, diesen Mann aus dem Kreise Mathis Gotharts kennenzulernen mit seiner Gläubigkeit, seinen Zweifeln und teilweise sehr persönlichen Sorgen. Die Klage über das geringe Ansehen der Kunst fehlt in diesen Aufzeichnungen nicht. Eine Anmerkung weist auf Oholiab (Ahaliab), einen der Werkmeister der Stiftshütte, als den ersten Seidensticker hin. In Glaubenssachen stand Plock auf dem Standpunkt Luthers, dessen Erklärungen er nicht müde wurde, aus anderen Schriften (er besaß sicher eine eigene Büchersammlung) heranzuziehen. Astrologie und Wahrsagekunst verachtete

er. Der Zukunft sah Plock mit Zweifeln entgegen. Die Demütigung des Landes im Schmalkaldischen Krieg, der das Auftreten spanischer Söldner mit sich brachte, empfand er als Bedrohung. (Siehe Hans Körber, *Ebernburg-Hefte*, 4. Folge, 1971, und 8. Folge, 1974; auch *Blätter für Pfälzische Kirchengeschichte und Religiöse Völkerkunde*, 38. Jahrgang, 1972, und 41. Jahrgang, 1974, alle Mainz.)

Sowenig die Aufzeichnungen des Hans Plock Mitteilungen zum Leben und Werk des Mathis Gothart enthalten, so bieten sie doch einen lebendigen Einblick in den Lebenskreis des Malers. Gabriel Tunzel, der andere Todeszeuge in Halle, war Tischler am Hofe Albrechts; ein anderer Seidensticker, Hans in Frankfurt am Main, war der Vormund seines unmündigen Erben. Sicher wird im Falle des Hans Plocks die Herkunft aus Mainz, einer der wichtigsten Wirkungsstätten des Malers, eine Rolle gespielt haben. Auch das historische Interesse an zurückliegenden Zeitabschnitten mochte die beiden Künstler einen.

Die Malerei des Mathis Gothart hebt sich von den Hauptströmungen ab, die verkörpert werden durch die Schule Dürers in Nürnberg, die Nachfolge Schongauers und Holbeins d.Ä. am Oberrhein, den Umkreis Altdorfers und Hubers im Donaugebiet und Cranachs in Sachsen. Berührungen mit Holbein d.Ä. und der Malerei der Bamberger Katzheimer helfen nicht, seine Arbeitsmethoden, insbesondere die Eigenart seiner Zeichnungen, zu erklären. Das fehlende Interesse an Holzschnitten und Kupferstichen, auch als Vorlagen zu eigenen Werken, ist ohne Beispiel in der deutschen Malerei dieser Zeit. Der Maler Mathis war besessen von starker Gegenstandsbezogenheit. Figürliches, Landschaftliches und Stillebenhaftes fesselte diesen Künstler in gleichem Masse. Er war gezwungen zu zeichnen. Er zeichnete nachdrücklich und gross, nahe dem Masstab der Gemälde, so wie es Dürer nicht oft tat und wie wir es ausnahmsweise von Burgkmairs Selbstbildnis von 1517 in Hamburg kennen. Ein Element der Unerfahrenheit ist dieser Methode von Anfang an eigen, ist aber auch ihre Stärke. Bereits Joachim von Sandrart vergass 1675 nicht, die angestrebte Lebensgrösse seiner Zeichnung hervorzuheben. Erhalten hat sich davon wenig; ein wichtiges Beispiel ist die Studie zum Oberkörper des Sebastian, zerteilt auf zwei Blättern in Berlin und Dresden.

Das Studium des Schlagschattens auf dem Körper das wir hier finden, (es ist sonst noch bei einer Zeichnung zur Verkündigung der Maria nachzuweisen), ist offenbar aus der deutschen Malerei der Zeit nicht zu erklären. Es dürfte darauf hindeuten, dass Mathis venezianische Gemälde kannte, wie etwa Giovanni Bellinis Christus in der Auferstehung, in Fort Worth. Auf Bellini weist auch das komplizierte Figurenmotiv des von der Rückseite gesehenen Peinigers auf der Verspottung Christi in München hin. Das Vorbild findet sich im Martyrium des Petrus aus der Reihe der Predellenbilder seines Altarbildes in Pesaro.

Für den Isenheimer Altar beachtete Mathis Beispiele der älteren örtlichen Tradition, wie den Stauffenberg-Altar aus Isenheim, heute ebenfalls in Collmar. Die Wurzeln seiner Kreuzigung liegen in der grossartigen Disposition von Kreuzigungsdarstellungen wie auf den beiden Aussenflügeln Rogier van der Weydens in Philadelphia. Eine andere flämische Bilderfindung mit der Darstellung des Ecce agnus Dei von Dirck Bouts, in München, regte zu der Figur Johannes des Täufers an. Es ist gewiss kein Zufall, dass das Aufbrechen zusammenhängender Bildräume wie bei Kreuzigung und Marienleben in Isenheim und bei einem kleinen Abendmahl in der Sammlung Schäfer in Schweinfurt Mathis beschäftigten. Diese Bilder sind bekanntlich auf die Klappflügel des Isenheimer-Altars, beziehungsweise auf die Flügel einer klappbaren Predella gemalt. Der Wechsel von dramatischen Szenen, schliesslich zu farbigen Bildwerken zeichnet die besondere Intensität seiner Kunst aus. Sie entsprach vielleicht auch seinen Interessen als Ingenieur, von denen wir aus Nachrichten über den Wasserbau und über einen Kaminbau wissen. Die Aufstellung des in verschiedene Schauseiten zerlegten Altarwerks im Museum Unterlinden in Colmar lässt die besondere Kraft der Inszenierung der Bildfolge noch ahnen. Es gibt kein Altarwerk, dessen Verwandlung mit dem Aufeinanderprallen weiträumiger Bilder dem Isenheimer Altar an die Seite gestellt werden könnte.

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett  
Soros Visiting Senior Research Fellow, fall 1990



Hans Skala, cover of *Seidels Reklame*, April 1913

*The "New Unity": Abstraction and Commodities at the Bauhaus*

My tenure as a predoctoral fellow was spent in Berlin, investigating aspects of the background to the Bauhaus' development and the implementation of abstraction in the art market. In particular, my research has centered on the pre-World War I *Deutscher Werkbund*, the organization in which Walter Gropius, founder of the Bauhaus and for nine years its director, first established himself as a major voice in issues of modern design. My research has shown that the intense discursive activity of the Werkbund circle was not only directed toward an exploration of the formal and symbolic potential of industrial technique, but was involved in a highly theoretical attempt to determine the very nature of the cultural field under conditions of industrial capitalism, to discover the way visual form acts under, and reacts to, the conditions of a market economy. The complexity of these discussions should come as no surprise, for the Werkbund counted among its active members not only architects and artists but politicians, economists, and sociologists, whose role in setting the terms for the development of modern design in Germany I have explored.

The members of the Werkbund saw their situation — in a word, modernity — through the lens of contemporary sociological and culture-critical concepts. Following contemporary debate, they distinguished between the posited spiritual unity of preindustrial "community" or *Gemeinschaft* and the fragmented existence of urban capitalist "society" or *Gesellschaft*, between an integrated "culture" and an alienated "civilization." In the first section of my study, I shall show how, within the Werkbund, aesthetic corollaries to these terms were developed. Gropius and other prominent members defined their work as the quest for "style," by which they meant the visual signs of an integrated culture which, they felt, had been torn apart by urbanization and the division of labor. But in a dialectical move, style was to be refound within capitalism; the very cause of alienation, industrial production, was to bring salvation in its ability to unify culture through the distribution of serially reproduced, common forms. The theories of style were developed in discursive opposition to the visual analogue of civilization: the dystopia of "fashion." Fashion was an obsession of the era, and the word was used less to refer to clothing styles than to express a model of visual form under the stress of a *laissez-faire* economy. Fashion was the decadent nature of form on the market, distorted by the pressures of production and consumption; subject to constant change in order to spur industry, in the realm of the consumer its various forms were manipulated as signs of social prestige by the supposedly tasteless "parvenu." The Werkbund established its position explicitly in terms of the mapping of visual culture

by the discursive opposition of style versus fashion. Their promotion of a proto-“functionalist” *Sachlichkeit* as style was opposed to the twin anathemas of form in its fallen state: historicism and *Jugendstil*.

In the second section of the study, I have explored the role of contemporary economic theory in the famous split in the Werkbund over the issue of “types” versus “individuality” at the 1914 Werkbund exhibition in Cologne. Contemporary analyses defined modern capitalism not in terms of the control of capital but by the convergence of mass production and a particular kind of speculative commerce. Within the Werkbund, two strategies to achieve style were developed that parallel this division: one through production, the other through commerce or exchange. The supporters of standardization, led by Hermann Muthesius, saw commerce as the cause of fashion and hence of the decline of taste. “Types,” therefore, were to tame the unruly realm of consumption using the criteria of productive efficiency: the reduction of the number of different models produced. But this productivist model had as much a cultural as an economic rationale: industrial capital was to be mobilized against the perceived *aesthetic* effects of commercial capital. The opposing group, which formed around Henry van de Velde, Gropius, and Karl Ernst Osthaus, presented an equally compelling picture of commerce as a new communal ground; they considered the realm of exchange, of advertising and shop windows, as having the potential to be the true cultural sphere in a social system characterized by the alienation of labor and a market economy. Read alongside the classic texts of the Werkbund debate, the works of economists and sociologists invoked or involved in the Werkbund—one might mention here Werner Sombart, Georg Simmel, Heinrich Waentig, and Karl Bücher—reveal the complex considerations of economics and culture underlying the aesthetic issues.

The discourses of sociology and cultural criticism provided the proponents of modern design with a theory of the nature of form in a market economy; national economics supplied an analysis of that economy as a social and cultural field. My background study will conclude with a consideration of the debate that sought to establish rules governing the circulation of visual signs on the market: the law. Legal issues, especially those concerning copyright, design, and trademark law, were a preoccupation in the professional literature of the applied arts in the early decades of twentieth-century Germany. My research has revealed that the many issues defined in the supposedly “aesthetic” writings of the period were also present in the legal discourse, and that the laws enacted in order to regulate the status of form in a system of commodity production also provided paradigms for different kinds of cultural intervention developed in the Werkbund and the Bauhaus. The law played an important role in negotiating the relation between art and industry and the use of abstraction in Germany; it is also a most relevant context, for example, of the architectural and advertising work of Peter Behrens for the AEG, considered exemplary within the Werkbund and Bauhaus.

The Bauhaus' deployment of abstraction developed in the context of sophisticated, if not always successful, analyses of culture in the age of mass production. To the degree that the union of art and technology was utopian, the discussions of form in the realm of mass consumption show the artists' sense of the raw material of social and economic reality; to the extent that this union represents a compromise of art with the powers that be, these nascent theories of mass culture give us a sense of the precise terms of their bargain.

[Columbia University]  
Chester Dale Fellow, 1990–1991



*A Discourse (With Shape of Reason Missing)*, after John Baldessari, *Two Crowds (With Shape of Reason Missing)*, 1984, altered by John Tagg, 1991

*Maps of Modernity: Art Histories and Cultural Theories*

My work at the Center occupied a space between two projects: the end of *Grounds of Dispute*—an attempt to think the relations of art history and cultural politics within, rather than against, a concept of discourse and the discursive field—and the beginning of *Maps of Modernity*, in which a tracing of the discursive limits of institutionalized narratives of modern art and modernism is proposed. I was always working across a hinterland, therefore, a state of betweenness, which was in a sense only fitting, as I tried to define a theoretical territory that would belong neither to the ordered interior of a semiology of art history, nor to the expansive exteriority of a sociology of art-historical knowledge.

When I arrived in Washington, I was working on a long chapter to stand in place of an introduction to *Grounds of Dispute: Art History, Cultural Politics, and the Discursive Field*. The book brought together a number of essays concerned with the effects of modern cultural technologies on the production and circulation of meanings and with the relation of these technologies of sense to formations of power, pleasure, and identity. At the same time, it confronted the ways art histories had theorized the relationship of power, pleasure, vision, and meaning and the status and effects of art history itself as a form of cultural practice. What had struck me was the recurrence of spatial metaphors not only in the chapter titles but, more generally, in the analytical traditions on which the chapters drew. I therefore set out to follow the developing emphasis on spatialization in cultural theory and to trace the effects of its repeated spatial metaphors—“level,” “locus,” “social topography,” “discursive field” and “discursive space,” “situated knowledge,” “practiced place,” “traveling theory,” and “the politics of location.”

Such metaphors, I found, were crucial along a number of fronts of poststructuralist theory, where temporal modes of analysis, turning on origins, cycles, crises, and the overhauling of the dialectic, were displaced by notions of plotting the effectivity of specific networks and systems of difference. It was this theoretical shift that also opened a space for rethinking the operations of power and for a concept of cultural politics that was not caught in an appeal to the reflection or expression of prior social interests. A new set of questions became possible grounded on an understanding of the social as an indeterminate outcome, continually inflected by the local and strategic effects of specific regimes of representation, power, and pleasure, which might seek to saturate the social field but always remained unstable, cut across by the traffic of deviant and dissenting practices.

A general goal of *Grounds of Dispute* was thus to show what was productive in the impact of poststructuralist concepts on cultural history, and to argue that a focus on power and resistance and a notion of cultural politics were

not ruled out by the redundancy of sociologicistic theories. Central to this thinking were Foucault's concepts of the *discursive field* and the *apparatus*, Lyotard's notion of the *differend*, and Derrida's focus on the deconstructive play of the *frame*. These concepts were also to be carried into the attempt to regroup *Maps of Modernity: Art Histories and Cultural Theories*.

The problem here was to rethink the structure of an earlier attempt to map art-historical narratives of modernity, modernism, and modern art outside the terms of the alternative poles of a "corrective" theoretical critique of art-historical texts as models of methodological "positions," or an institutional history dependent on a reductive sociology of knowledge. The oscillation of analysis between the interior space of the "textual reading" and the open expanse of "social context" merely reproduces that between the counterposed spaces of formalism and social history. What sets this oscillation in motion, however, is the work of the *frame*, with all that hangs on it: the order of externality and interiority it demarcates, and the laws, evaluations, structures of knowledge, forms of spectacle, types of commerce, and forms of pedagogy this order makes possible.

The frame marks the decisive structure of the institution itself, where the apparatus of art history and its discursive regimes are installed. Crucially, it marks the inscription of art history in the museum: in the constitution of the space that defines art yet effaces itself in the visibility of its works and that displaces the loss the museum as frame necessarily imposes in the rhetorics of the paradigmatic progression and the authentic ensemble. But this frame also operates as an apparatus of subjection: a space for the ordered production of pleasure and deference, for the managing of attention, the training of vision, and the ordering of bodies: a place where spectacle and discipline meet in the reterritorialization of vision and subjectivity. And, at this point, the strategic roles of art and art history in the dissemination of a disciplinary pedagogy also come into play, as the arenas in which an elite culture of self-cultivation, hitherto the property of a specific social caste, could be articulated into the normalizing machinery of public schooling.

Such a field of practices does not describe a unity, but a complex of administrative, pedagogical, ethical, and aesthetic techniques, invested in specific disciplinary technologies and targeted on a new conception of the population, with the goal of shaping a highly specific profile of cultural attributes. Yet it is a field that is neither stable nor fixed; that is never able to constitute itself as an exhaustive frame; that is overrun by the very play of identity and difference it strives to hold in place. It is across this field that the material of *Maps of Modernity* can now be distributed. And, in this sense, I have arrived at a point from which I can begin.

State University of New York, Binghamton  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1990–1991

*The Correspondence of James McNeill Whistler*

Whistler's artistic reputation during his lifetime was almost equaled by his fame as a letter writer. He republished many of his letters to the press in *The Gentle Art of Making Enemies*, but his correspondence ranges far more widely than his newspaper audiences. Some forty-five hundred letters written by Whistler have been identified to date, and the tally is by no means complete. They are addressed to other artists, dealers, collectors, friends, ex-friends, family, and a wide circle of acquaintances in Britain, France, and America. They document the development of his art; they illustrate his personality, more complex than public opinion of the time was allowed to judge; and, taken together with some four thousand surviving letters that he received, they constitute a rich source for the study of European and American art in the second half of the nineteenth century.

My fellowship allowed me to lay some of the groundwork for the correspondence to be published. Work on recording his correspondence began soon after his death in 1903, but publication was never achieved. In keeping with a certain family tradition, his sister-in-law Rosalind Birnie Philip took his biographers, Joseph and Elizabeth Pennell, to court to prevent them from publishing any of the letters; she then announced that she would publish them herself. This project never materialized, but both sides continued to amass letters, and their respective collections form the major resource for the projected edition.

The Whistler Collection in Glasgow University Library has built on the several thousand items of Whistler's correspondence that Miss Birnie Philip donated, along with his artistic and personal estate, to the University of Glasgow, so that it now numbers some sixty-seven hundred letters—about twenty-seven hundred written by Whistler and the remainder addressed to him. The Pennell Collection in the Library of Congress contains the majority of the seventeen hundred or so Whistler letters in other collections that have been recorded in Glasgow, as well as a vast amount of general information that the Pennells collected for their biography of Whistler.

My two months in Washington gave me the opportunity to look at the ninety-four thousand items of the Pennell Collection in detail, in order to determine what kind of information it could be expected to reveal and how long a comprehensive search would take. It became clear that the Pennells had amassed copies of some hundreds of letters of which the originals have disappeared from view, and that their own voluminous correspondence contained not only information on Whistler, some of which was not used in their publications, but also numbers of pointers to letters that may still be located in other archives. The value of some of this information can be judged from the example of an unrecorded letter from Whistler's lithographic

printer, T.R. Way, to the Pennells, in which he gives details of paper used by Whistler during his lifetime as well as by himself after Whistler's death—facts that will contribute to the discussion of which lithographic prints were made under Whistler's supervision and which were printed after his death.

Visits to other collections in Washington, Maryland, Delaware, Michigan, and New York consistently yielded more original Whistler letters or indications that there were papers of relations or friends that would need to be searched. New Whistler letters were added, for instance, from the Baltimore Museum of Art and from the library of the Winterthur Museum; and the papers of John H. Alexander at the University of Maryland revealed correspondence from Whistler's father and from an uncle, William Gibbs McNeill. The Archives of American Art and the National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections disclosed valuable further information; an eventual postal search will doubtless produce more, but there is often no alternative to searching through manuscript collections in the original.

In addition, collections of American and European auction catalogues and dealers' catalogues will bring other Whistler letters to light. The first catalogue examined in the library of the National Gallery of Art, of the sale of an anonymous Philadelphia collection in the 1930s, revealed two letters, including a further unrecorded letter from Whistler to T.R. Way. My limited time allowed only a sampling of them, but the collections of catalogues in the National Gallery of Art, the National Museum of American Art, and other major collections will need to be searched comprehensively in due course.

Once funding has been established, the first stage of work on the edition will include completing the census of letters, with much of the work needing to be done in the United States. This initial stage could also allow the reproduction of the entire correspondence in microfilm or microfiche. The subsequent phase will be assessment of the letters and editing them in chronological order for publication. Historical editions are generally published at a rate of one volume of a correspondence series every year or so: an edition based on the eventual total of nine thousand or more letters in Whistler's correspondence could require ten or a dozen volumes of 750 pages. Perhaps the date to be planned for its completion is the centenary of Whistler's death, in 2003.

Glasgow University Library  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1990

M. E. WARLICK

*Max Ernst and Alchemy: A Magician in Search of Myth*

Max Ernst has received a great deal of attention lately because of the preparation for the 1991 centenary celebration of his birth. Credited for establishing the path of surrealist imagery, his technical experiments and use of Freudian symbols are well documented. Recently, scholars have pursued other areas that have proven just as fertile, including his love of science, astronomy, myth, tribal arts, politics, German romantic philosophy and literature, and hermeticism. As a result of these studies, Ernst is emerging as one of the most intelligent, inventive, and resourceful artists of his age.

The collage method was central to his work. This "discovery" was first made in the 1950s by a German schoolboy who noticed that Ernst's dada painting *Winter Landscape* was based on a chemical chart. News of Ernst's "plagiarism" caused a scandal in the German newspapers, but such appropriations have proven to be the very core of his working methods. Ernst combined or reproduced preexisting imagery, carefully camouflaging his sources. In a 1937 essay entitled "Au-delà de la peinture," he called collage the "alchemy of the visual image," a definition that went beyond a purely poetic metaphor. My thesis is that alchemy is a persistent theme in his work and goes hand-in-hand with his interest in psychology. He drew his knowledge of alchemy from hermetic books published in the wake of the late-nineteenth-century occult revival. Based on my dissertation in which I offered an alchemical interpretation of his third collage novel, *Une Semaine de bonté* (1934), my current project is an exploration of alchemical symbolism throughout Ernst's career. During my two months at the Center for Advanced Study, I tied up many loose ends of research and continued to write, aided by the library's rare catalogues and periodicals and many hermetic books available at the Library of Congress.

Ernst's interest in hermeticism began while enrolled at the University of Bonn (1910–1914). During his first trip to Paris (1913), he made a pilgrimage to the alchemical sites of the city, including the rue Nicolas Flamel and the Tour Saint Jacques. His works of this time did not reflect hermetic influences, but rather the impact of postimpressionist and cubist works he saw at exhibitions in Cologne and Bonn. Séances held with his college friend Frank Henseler during the war predated similar experiments conducted in Paris by several years. At the end of the war Ernst felt reborn, determined to "become a magician and to find the myth of his time."

Soon afterward, he founded the Cologne dada group and created his first works containing alchemical symbols. One of these, *Dada Gauguin* (1920), with its red and white figures encased in womblike forms, points to the probable source of Ernst's early understanding of this arcane science, Herbert



*Alchemical Androgyne*, from Herbert Silberer, *Probleme der Mystik und ihrer Symbolik*, 1914

Silberer's *Probleme der Mystik und ihrer Symbolik* (1914). Silberer recounted an alchemical legend, analyzed its symbolism, and then compared it to the contemporary psychoanalytic theories of Freud and C.G. Jung, most notably Jung's theory of introversion.

Alchemy, the ancient art of turning lead into gold, begins with base matter, *materia prima*. It is composed of two opposing properties, the feminine Philosophic Mercury, represented in alchemical emblems by a queen or the moon, and the masculine Philosophic Sulphur, represented by a king or the sun. These two are eventually refined into silver and gold. At the summation of the work, they fuse to form a single figure, the alchemical androgyne. Traditionally, the production of gold was less important than the self-knowledge and perfection of the alchemist that resulted from lifetime engagement with the work. Silberer explained the modern psychological parallels to this myth, suggesting that Ernst's involvement with alchemy was tied to an exploration of his own identity.

When Ernst arrived in Paris in September 1922, he found a group of

writers and artists whose interests were closely aligned to his own. During this "époque de sommeils," the surrealists began their first experiments with séances and automatic writing. Ernst's paintings of this time are rich in hermetic imagery, such as the Tate Gallery's *Of This Men Shall Know Nothing* (1923), which has long been recognized as an alchemical work. In the mid-1920s, Ernst abandoned such enigmatic symbolism, responding to Breton's call in the *First Surrealist Manifesto* (1924), for automatic methods of writing and drawing. Ernst created works using *frottage* and *grattage*, invented techniques which involved rubbings from rough surfaces to provoke inspiration.

The surrealists' fascination with alchemy grew throughout the 1920s, aided by the publications of Fulcanelli, Grillo de Givry, and others. They wandered around the alchemical sites of Paris and delved into other occult areas as evidenced by their articles on mediums, crystal balls, clairvoyance, chiromancy, astrology, and the tarot. In the late 1920s, Ernst returned to collage and to hermetic imagery with his three collage novels. *Une Semaine de bonté* is the most insistently alchemical, responding to Breton's call in the *Second Manifesto* (1929) for the "occultation of Surrealism."

The first part of my book charts the development of Ernst's hermetic imagery through the late 1930s. The remainder of the book is treated thematically, exploring his recurring landscape scenes and images of women throughout his career. Working with his source images, I noticed how often he superimposed the sun and the moon and manipulated and transformed male and female imagery. In his landscapes, he plays with the four basic elements—earth, water, fire, and air—and mirror images above and below the horizon to echo the famous phrase from the Emerald Table of Hermes Trismegistus, "As Above, so Below," duplicating the microcosm of the earth with the macrocosm of the universe. His gendered images recall the two major characters of the alchemical drama—the King and Queen, Sulphur and Mercury. Ernst's life was enhanced by the companionship of many powerful and creative female artists and writers including Luise Straus-Ernst, Gala Eluard, Leonora Carrington, Peggy Guggenheim, and Dorothea Tanning, some with hermetic imagery of their own. I investigate how their images played within his works to create a "Chemical Wedding" in which the male and female, the sun and the moon, are fused. Like the surrealist pursuit of that perfect point in which conscious and unconscious states become one, Ernst balanced the opposing forces of his composite imagery. Whether his interest in alchemy was sparked by his desire to discover the polarities of his own psyche, or whether it is linked to the surrealist quest for love and the perfect muse, it is clear that the women in his life nourished and sustained his alchemical quest.

University of Denver  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1990



